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CSFR's Harencar Comments on Pact Arms Agreement

LD2910112190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Interview with Robert Harencar, CSFR first deputy foreign minister, and (Emil Antusak) and (Jiri Adamira), senior representatives of the CSFR Army General Staff, by unidentified announcer in the studio—live; Harencar speaks in Slovak, and (Antusak) or (Adamira) speak once in Czech and once in Slovak]

[Text] [Announcer] A special commission of the Warsaw Pact held talks on disarmament in Prague yesterday and the day before yesterday [26-27 October] As we told you yesterday, this meeting, unlike the previous ones, was successful.

I now welcome to our studio Robert Harencar, [CSFR] first deputy minister of foreign affairs. Good evening. And (Emil Antusak and Jiri Adamira), senior representatives of the Czechoslovak Army General Staff. Good evening!

Mr. Deputy Minister, world agencies are attaching great importance to this agreement. Can you explain to us what, in fact, has been agreed on?

[Harencar] The aim of the agreement was to set ceilings for weapons and equipment for individual Warsaw Pact states, with the provision that after signing an agreement on conventional armed forces in Europe, they will be able to keep these ceilings. I would like to say that the talk proceedings were very demanding and thus we are very much pleased with the results. We are very pleased that we have managed, on the fourth attempt, to achieve ceilings about which there were very difficult negotiations indeed. We have agreed in our last round on the ceilings for tanks and the ceilings of artillery.

[Announcer] What was the role of Czechoslovakia during the talks?

[Harencar] We, in the Warsaw Pact framework, at present have the role of coordinator, thus we had to organize all these sessions. It seems that we have done this well; all of the delegations of the Warsaw Pact member states have expressed their praise to us.

[Announcer] I shall now turn to the representatives of the General Staff. What will this reduction mean specifically for the Czechoslovak Army?

[(Antusak) or (Adamira)] The results of the talks mean that the Czechoslovak Army will remove from its armament, will liquidate, more than 2,000 tanks and more than 2,000 artillery pieces, about 3,000 armored combat vehicles, about 60 planes, and 30 helicopters.

[Announcer] This means a considerable reduction. Will it be possible to insure the defense capability of the state with those numbers?

[(Antusak) or (Adamira)] In harmony with the new military doctrine, a new Czechoslovak Army concept is being prepared. In its drafting we have proceeded approximately from the numbers which are close to those which have been agreed on. The new concept envisages the creation of an army smaller in number but well equipped, and thus ready to insure the defense capability of the country.

[Announcer] I shall turn to the deputy minister again. Mr. Deputy Minister, the date for signing this agreement was set for 3 November. Does this mean that the Warsaw Pact summit will in fact take place on that date after all?

[Harencar] No. The Warsaw Pact summit will not take place. There will only be a meeting of ministers of foreign affairs in Budapest on 3 November, and the agreement on weapons ceilings will be signed.

[Presenter] Thank you for the valuable information.

Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Meet 3 Nov

Signing of Arms Accord 'Delayed'

LD0311120790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Istvan Kulcsar is on the line. He reports on the conference of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers in Budapest:

[Kulcsar] The signing of the document is delayed for the moment at the government residence at Szabadsag Hill. According to the original plans the Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Polish Hungarian, Romanian, and Soviet foreign ministers should have signed an agreement on the upper limit of each of their countries' weapons at 1100 [1000 GMT]. The agreement will be appended to the treaty on the reduction of European conventional weapons and armed forces to be signed this month at the Paris summit.

Two of the six foreign ministers—the Czechoslovak and the Soviet, have not arrived in Budapest; Dienstbier due to health reasons, and Shevardnadze owing to pressure of work at home. They are represented by their deputies. The signing act is, of course, not delayed because of the absence of the two foreign ministers, but—as Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Hermann has just said—because of technical reasons. I was unofficially informed that during the formulation of the agreement, the experts forgot about a matter of detail that cannot be disregarded, and this is what the negotiating sides are making clear at the moment. Thus, the signing of the agreement will presumably take place soon.

Accord Signed; Tanks To Be Stored

LD0311171190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Excerpts] This afternoon in Budapest, high-ranking representatives of the diplomatic establishments of six countries signed the protocol which lays down the maximum level of armaments for individual countries. Istvan Kulcsar reports from the scene. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Who signed the agreement?

[Kulcsar] On behalf of Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and (?Poland) it was the ministers, while on behalf of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia the deputy ministers signed. Shevardnadze and Dienstbier did not attend. Regarding Shevardnadze, the excuse was that he had a commitment, an engagement, at home, and as regards Dienstbier, he did not come for health reasons.

[Announcer] Did the participants accept this, or did they look for other political reasons behind the absences?

[Kulcsar] No, it is quite clear that there is no question of demonstrating. It is a joint agreement. This is not at issue here. [passage omitted] The reason for the delay, we are told, is technical. This is almost true. Unofficially, I have heard the problem has come about because of placing in storage a proportion of the remaining tanks, which, by the way, is expensive. They now must agree on which country will store how many tanks. This was regulated in Prague last Sunday by the experts. So, it was this that had to be sorted out at the last minute. This is not some issue of high importance, or of principle, but it is more than a simple technical issue. This is just a leak, however, so I cannot say this officially.

[Announcer] What does storing tanks mean? What kind of arms reduction is that?

[Kulcsar] This does not mean that a good number of decommissioned tanks will be melted down. Part of those remaining are in an absolute [word indistinct] state, and a part of these go into storage. In other words, these are within the quota which remains. As far as I know, these can be used whenever they want them, but they are simply not needed all the time. [passage omitted] The debate focused on how many of these were to be stored in the various countries' territory. [passage omitted]

CSFR Weapons Levels Detailed

LD0311192490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] The representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states signed an agreement on maximum levels of conventional weapons in the capital of Hungary today. Tomas Borec, our Budapest correspondent, reports more in detail:

[Borec, in Slovak] The agreement was signed by the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Romania; on behalf of the Soviet Union by Yuriy Krichinskiy, first deputy minister; and on behalf of Czechoslovakia by Robert Harencar, first deputy federal minister of foreign affairs.

The agreement determines the national level of conventional weapons and equipment for each individual state of the six, and it is in harmony with the total quota determined for the Warsaw Pact at the Vienna talks.

The signed agreement provides for Czechoslovakia a maximum of 345 combat planes—including air defense planes, 75 combat helicopters, and 1,435 tanks, as well as the total of 3,583 combat vehicles of different kinds, 1,150 pieces of artillery, and 50 (?bridge) tanks. To illustrate the numbers, it means that our number of tanks will be 7.2 percent of the total quota of the Warsaw Pact states, planes 5.1 percent, and artillery 5.8 percent.

The given numbers will come in force for the six Warsaw Pact states and 16 NATO states after an agreement on conventional armed forces in Europe is signed; the event is supposed to take place at the Paris summit during the second half of this month.

The signing of the agreement on national levels of conventional weapons and equipment was delayed today by almost four hours by a demand by the Soviet Union—in substance a new one—that Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland store part of their weapons in special stores, as is allegedly supposed by the Soviet-U.S. agreement. The Czechoslovak delegation rejected this demand, which would require spending hundreds of millions of korunas. Nevertheless, in order not to put the signing of the main document in danger, it attached a statement to it which contains a proposal for a compromise solution.

This is yet another indication that although the talks concerned the quotas originally determined for the Warsaw Pact as one entity, its member states behaved as independent sovereign countries, acting above all on the basis of their national interests and new views on securing security in Europe.

Hungary's Jeszenszky Delivers Speech

LD0311180790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Report by correspondent Istvan Kuscsar on the meeting of Warsaw Pact foreign ministers in Budapest on 3 November]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Geza Jeszenszky, [Hungarian] foreign minister, who as host delivered a speech at the signing [of the Warsaw Pact agreement on maximum armament levels], said that the agreement will not only bring about a large-scale reduction on our territory of the number of those weapons that can best be described as offensive, but that there will also evolve between the various states armament ratios that will guarantee a large degree of security to everyone. The Hungarian foreign minister cautioned against the states of the territory seeking security in unstable alliances, as they did between the two world wars. Instead of this, he urged the creation of an all-European security system.

In his reply, Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski highlighted that the agreement signed today is part of a long chain, the result of which will be a stable Europe.

In the afternoon the six foreign ministers and deputies were received by [Hungarian] Premier Jozsef Antall.

The statesmen held unofficial discussions among themselves as well. Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, for example, held an exchange of views with his Romanian colleague, Adrian Nastase.

The statesmen who had come to Budapest for the signing of the agreement briefed the international press at a news conference in the Hotel Intercontinental this afternoon. This news conference was still going on a few minutes ago.

Jeszenszky Urges 'Common Solutions'

LD0311222790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Report by correspondent Istvan Kulcsar on a news conference at the Warsaw Pact meeting in Budapest on 3 November, including recorded remarks by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] [passage omitted] Tonight the Hungarian, Polish, and Romanian foreign ministers held an international news conference. Our program was represented by Istvan Kulcsar:

[Kulcsar] In his introduction, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky so to speak sketched the background against which the process of disarmament, of arms reduction, and today's agreement are to be seen.

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] In our territory—in Central and Eastern Europe—the indelible marks of two terrible wars live in people's heads and memories, and these two wars were in large measure waged in this territory. Since 1945, for nearly 50 years—half a century—now, there has been peace, which we are very happy about, but this peace was a peace founded on fear, and even at best it was only a peace based on the always uncertain balance of arms. Now, however, it is my conviction that we can create a stable peace, based on consensus. The reduction in armaments will not resolve the region's economic problems, but if the reduction in armaments does not occur, then the territory's economic problems will be unresolvable. [end recording]

[Kulcsar] After the signing ceremony and the festive luncheon, which was rushed through on account of the delay, the six statesmen were received in the parliament building by Premier Jozsef Antall. Speaking about this meeting, Geza Jeszenszky considered it necessary to highlight the following at the news conference:

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] Both Jozsef Antall and Mr. Skubiszewski, the Polish foreign minister, and I think my other colleagues as well, agreed that we are colleagues not only in our posts but also in our troubles, and that we must find common solutions to our economic and other problems, because the region's problems recognize no borders. [end recording]

[Kulcsar] In answer to the BBC correspondent's question, which was asked in English, the Hungarian foreign minister said, replying in English, that in his opinion the Warsaw Pact's military organization will cease to exist by the end of 1991. By the spring of 1992 at least the framework of an all-European security system will definitely evolve, which will make the Warsaw Pact completely superfluous.

In answer to a further question, Nastase, the Romanian foreign minister, said that in this he fully agrees with his Hungarian colleague. Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski voiced his opinion that the continuing existence of the Warsaw Pact political organization depends on the member states, since it can be seen as a cooperational organization. Poland, he said, strives for the closest possible ties with the Soviet Union, for close relations with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the other states of the region. This however, can be realized even without the Warsaw Pact, and the latter will lose its significance in the new Europe.

Hungary's Antall Meets USSR's Kvitsinskiy

LD0411030390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Excerpts] In Budapest representatives of the Warsaw Pact's six member states have signed the agreement that lays down how many conventional weapons the individual member states may keep. [passage omitted] After the signing, Jozsef Antall received all the guests and expressed his satisfaction that the Warsaw Pact representatives had signed the agreement. The Hungarian prime minister, in his office in parliament building, separately received Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kvitsinskiy whom he told our country wishes to shape a new kind of modern, correct, and realistic relationship with the Soviet Union.

Fourteen Citizens Flee Across Border to Greece

AU0211161090 Paris AFP in English 1523 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Yannina, Greece, Nov 2 (AFP)—Fourteen Albanians including two armed soldiers asked for political asylum in Greece after crossing the border between the two countries in two groups overnight Thursday, police in this northwestern town announced. Five of the refugees, aged between 20 and 26, were of Greek origin, the nine others Moslems, police said.

Another Albanian of Greek origin, Michaelis Skevis, 29, died from a heart attack in an escape bid by three other people near the border Thursday, police at Filiates, near here, said. His cousin requested political asylum but a third refugee was still missing Friday.

Several hundred Albanians, mostly of Greek origin, have sought political asylum in Greece since the start of the year.

Talks on Reestablishing Ties With UK Reported

AU0211195190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] A spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced today that talks on bilateral problems, including the issue of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, will take place between the delegations of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the United Kingdom in Rome on 5 November 1990.

Swiss Foreign Affairs Delegation Arrives

AU0111194590 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Klaus Jacobi, secretary of state at the Foreign Affairs Department of the Swiss Confederation, arrived in our country today for an official and friendly visit. Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and other officials of the Foreign Ministry met him at Rinas Airport. Jean-Jacques Indermuehle, ambassador of the Swiss Confederation to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

Official talks between the Albanian delegation headed by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the delegation of the Swiss Confederation headed by Klaus Jacobi also started at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today, and will continue tomorrow.

Relations 'Developing Positively'

AU0411142390 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 2 (ATA)—The official talks conducted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on November 2, between the Albanian delegation, headed by the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka, and the Swiss delegation, headed by the secretary of state of Switzerland's foreign department, Klaus Jacobi, ended.

During these talks, which were conducted in a warm and friendly atmosphere, they found with satisfaction that the relations between Albania and Switzerland are developing positively on the basis of the friendship linking the Albanian people with the Swiss one.

Both parties expressed the desire that the existing relations be carried forward and materialized further in the political, economic, cultural fields, as well as in other sectors of mutual interest. They pointed out that new conditions are created to give a fresh impulse to the economic, industrial, technical, and financial cooperation. In this context, the possibilities existing for the Swiss investments in the Albanian economy and for the creation of the Albanian-Swiss joint ventures assume importance as well.

The Deputy Minister Sokrat Plaka informed the secretary of state of Switzerland's Foreign Department, Klaus Jacobi, on the measures adopted recently for the further democratization of the country's life, as an irreversible process, as well as for the proceedings of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states conducted in Tirana, which marked a new qualitative stage in the consolidation of the process of Balkan cooperation and understanding as a component part of the positive processes of security and cooperation in Europe.

On his part, the secretary of state, Klaus Jacobi, showed a particular interest in the steps made for the further democratization of the country's life and pointed to Albania's contribution to the strengthening of the process of Balkan cooperation and understanding.

During the talks, they exchanged views on some questions of the present international situation and of the developments in Europe, Balkans, Mediterranean, Persian Gulf, etc.

Malile Receives Delegation

AU0411143590 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 3 (ATA)—Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs, received on November 3 the delegation of the Swiss Confederation headed by Klaus Jacobi, state secretary of the Foreign Department.

In the course of the reception which passed in a friendly atmosphere, views were exchanged on the current Albanian-Swiss relations as well as on problems of the actual world developments, particularly in the Balkans, Europe and the Middle East.

In the course of the meeting, Reis Malile pointed to the importance Albania devotes to the relations with the Swiss Confederation, underscoring the desire of the Albanian Government to promote friendly cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic, financial, technical-scientific fields, etc. On his part, Klaus Jacobi pointed to the sentiments of friendship of the Swiss people for the

Albanian people and the desire of Switzerland for as good as possible relations with Albania.

Concerning the current international problems, the Albanian foreign minister and the Swiss friend laid the stress on the importance of the current positive processes in Europe in order to guarantee peace and development on the continent. They dwelt particularly on the success and importance of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states, held in Tirana.

Attending the reception were also Alfred Papuciu, interim charge d'affaires of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania under the UN Bureau in Geneva, as well as Jean-Jacques Indermuehle, ambassador of the Swiss Confederation to the PSR of Albania.

Future of Cooperativist Peasantry Viewed

AU0211092190 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 29 Oct 90 p 2

[Llazar Parangoni article: "The Cooperative Exists Alongside the Personal Plots"]

[Excerpt] Certain important decisions have been made this year to aid the cooperativist peasantry: The livestock of the small herds, priced at its value, have been transferred to the personal sector, which has also been extended with land for personal use. The peasants are now better able to meet their own needs, and have started to take vegetables, fruit, and animal products to town markets. The prices of the agricultural and animal products which the cooperatives sell to the state have been increased. These and other measures have either directly or indirectly increased the peasantry's incomes; this was their purpose. They are only effective, however, with more work and more initiative, and by putting economic thinking into action.

According to statistics, the personal sector accounts for 10 percent of the cultivable land on a national scale, 57 percent of cows, and 31 percent of small livestock. In this way, we have made changes in the structure of property, which are accompanied by changes in the relations between the cooperativist peasantry and group property, and between the latter and the state. Even though these changes are genuine, the regulations governing these relations have remained virtually the same. The time has come for a different conception of agricultural cooperatives; however, one thing must be kept in mind: The grant of livestock and the land needed for their maintenance does not, as some might think, leave "the road open" for the elimination of agricultural cooperatives in the countryside. They will continue to exist. How will they be managed economically? There is room for discussion here, and wide scope for action. It is here that we now need the views of the most able economists, who are somehow standing back from this problem.

The question that might be raised after these changes, especially in hilly and mountainous areas with less land, is this: What will the future of cooperativism be in our country? Forty-four years have passed since it was introduced, and our peasants have become aware of, seen, and experienced its advantages. We must, however, be more realistic. We have agricultural cooperatives where the workday produces little, and we have those who fail to cover their annual expenses. Peasants are practical; with so much land and livestock in his own yard, the peasant now meets his family's needs for vegetables and animal products. The personal plots have, therefore, now become the principal sector for supplying peasant families with some products, and an auxiliary sector for their incomes. Under such circumstances, the peasant takes a pencil and does his addition: How much of his income comes from work in the cooperative and how much from his personal plot? Being of a practical frame of mind, he concentrates his efforts on his personal plot. His cow gives him a calf every year, he sows his land two or three times a year, he trains vines over his roof and round his land, and he takes his surplus produce to sell on the market. All of this costs the peasant labor and time. This is precisely the reason why there has recently been a decline in the turnout for work in many agricultural cooperatives.

How can this problem of making the peasant more interested in the cooperative be solved? The answer is simple: by ensuring him greater earnings from it. How? This will require economic levers and not orders and moralizing. Under the new conditions in which agricultural cooperatives find themselves, especially those in hilly and mountainous regions with little cultivable land, the structure of production assumes special importance. This is determined according to actual conditions, bearing in mind land use and natural factors, according to the area. There are many opportunities and reserves. Economic development in the highlands is inconceivable without stockraising. This could be the main economic field of agricultural cooperatives in these regions. More meat, milk, and wool could be produced there, and there is no reason why these areas should be required to deliver cereal crops to the state. There is no need to continue with fresh afforestation where orchards can be planted, and there is no need to hesitate over further investment where handicrafts could be expanded. [passage omitted]

'Standard Phrases' of Propaganda Criticized

AU0111194390 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Oct 90 p 3

[Avdul Dule article: "Zylo's 'Metamorphosis'"]

[Excerpts] Zylo [character in novel by Dritero Agolli, a dyed-in-the-wool bureaucrat] has long become proverbial. In the 1970's, Zylo, with Demka [his assistant] following after him, went from the town to the village "to bring culture" to the peasants; however, Zylo in both books and life has not lagged behind the times. In recent decades he has become "emancipated," "cultured," and "contemporary," and about 10 years later one of our colleagues met another Zylo in a village near Lushnje.

"A meeting was held in the village that day," our journalist colleague told us. "Unfortunately because of the secretary of the organization, there was little discussion. He tried to enliven the meeting. The meeting had not lasted half an hour, but he started to deliver his concluding speech. What did he say?"

"Common property is the basis of our, our, our...." Who knows how many "ours" the secretary stuttered, until two or three voices supplied the rest of his half-completed phrase with....

"Socialist order."

"That's right," he said with satisfaction. "The situation in our village is healthy, morally, po..., poli..., poli...."

"-tically," the ready chorus intoned.

"And ideolo..., lo..., gi...."

The secretary went on with his "lo's" and "li's" until the chorus supplied the word.

The driver of the newspaper's car, when he was told this story, said slowly to the journalist. "I bet this secretary used to be a first grade elementary school teacher."

That is what he actually was.

Some people might say that it is hard to find such Zylos now. Perhaps it is, but no one can deny that one can still meet with officials who either speak like born philosophers or read notes prepared by their Demkas and imagine that people listen to them open-mouthed. In the past, people ridiculed and mocked Zylo, because they would not swallow his pompous lectures. Today, more than ever, people consider him an anachronism. The Zylos have run out of words.

Let us talk about this subject more specifically. A short time ago, a lecturer went to an animal husbandry institution to talk about the situation. People poured cold water over him. He left the meeting dumbfounded, because he was unable to answer the questions asked of him.

It was his own fault. He went to the meeting with his hands in his pockets. Trusting in what he already knew and in the authority of his position, he blithely imagined that, as in the past, he could give his audience a lecture full of figures from reports and standard phrases and could then wash his hands of the meeting. It did not happen like that, because our meetings today have become more and more like assemblies of debate in which one person puts forward his opinion, another adds to it, a third opposes and demolishes it; one person cites one or five arguments, and another asks one or five questions, including some with a real sting. [passage omitted]

In a Durres village, the lecturer who "analyzed" the decision to grant land and livestock was asked this question:

"Will the farms continue to keep small herds?"

"Yes."

"Can they be kept not by a brigade but by a group of families?"

"They can."

"For instance by three or four families?"

"Yes."

"Or two families?"

"Yes."

"If they are allowed for two families, what harm is there in small herds being kept by one family?" the peasant concluded.

The lecturer was caught napping, and was at a loss for words. No matter what was implied by the question, it deserved an answer, and answers are found when decisions and directives are not made taboo subjects or considered ready-made, but are tested in life and under the most various conditions and circumstances. [passage omitted]

Zylo has other disadvantages today. People are in possession of a broad spectrum of information. If, until yesterday, the lecturer had under his arm or locked in his briefcase "highly confidential" material which he served up to others as his own ideas, even presenting it as something in front of which people had to sit open-mouthed, he now no longer has this weapon. The main documents and materials are becoming more public daily. The lecturer thus scores another "minus." People also receive much more extensive information in all ways, from the press, the radio and television, in public discussion, etc. Seen from this point of view, the sphere of "forbidden" topics for lecturers has been reduced, and their image as people who bear the burden of "the nation's concerns" has faded.

Under these conditions, have lecturers and propaganda activists become superfluous, and has the role of party secretaries and cadres become diminished? No! Not in any sense. The opposite is happening. Their presence, role, words, and action have become more necessary than ever. [passage omitted]

Beron Proposes SDS-Led Coalition at Sofia Rally

AU0311184090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Elena Shtereva report on Union of Democratic Forces rally, to mark anniversary of submission to parliament of an Ecoglasnost petition against the Rila and Mesta hydroelectric projects, in front of the Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral in Sofia on 3 November]

[Excerpt] [Shtereva] Most of the speakers at the rally began with remarks on the events of a year ago, but I think people are well aware of what happened then; the speakers then proceeded to speak of the demands relating to 3 November of this year.

Petur Beron, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], explained that it was necessary for parliament to continue to function, because the elections will not be held in a few days, but in several months time, and the country can survive during this period, but at the moment laws are needed without delay. In view of the fact that the government of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has been allowed a sufficiently long time to bring the country out of the crisis, the only solution at this moment is an SDS government. This is what Petur Beron said at the rally in a special statement for the Khorizont Program:

[Begin Beron recording] In our view, the only possible government combination at the moment is to have a prime minister from the SDS; for certain ministries, especially the key ones, also to be in SDS hands; and for all the political forces represented in parliament to have the chance of participating in this government. Finally, I would like to say that this is the only chance for the BSP to remain as a parliamentary force and as a force which participates in the government of the country. The alternative is the dissolution of parliament and the holding of new elections, in which the BSP will suffer catastrophic losses. [end recording]

The idea that there would also be places in the government for the BSP was evidently not to the liking to the thousands attending the rally. They greeted this idea by crying: Never! However, Petur Beron said that the other alternative was a parliamentary crisis and new elections, which would mean delaying the reforms. [passage omitted]

Further on Opposition Address

AU0311195090 Sofia BTA in English 1818 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Nov (BTA)—This country needs a cabinet dominated by the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] with a UDF member as chairman, with UDF members heading the key ministries and with the programme of the UDF, the leaders of the opposition and of the UDF Parliamentary Union stated at today's many thousands strong rally in the capital. Bulgaria needs an efficient and resolute government which will enjoy confidence and will be able to implement the reforms.

In an interview taken by a BTA reporter it was stated that the people worthy of forming a cabinet" were UDF leader Petur Beron, Social Democratic Party leader Petur Dertliev and one of the leaders of the UDF, Dimitur Ludzhev, but that their nominations had not been discussed yet.

Dr. Petur Beron, leader of the UDF, considers that the government which the country needs now is a government formed by the UDF with the broad support and participation of the Socialists. Other speakers specified that the representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) in the cabinet must not have held high-ranking positions in the state and Communist Party administration before Todor Zhivkov's ousting one year ago.

The spokesman for the UDF parliamentary group, Stoyan Ganev, announced that the UDF government can rely on the support of the two trade union confederations in the country. He spoke not of a coalition with the BSP, but of a programme government (a formula proposed by President Zhelyu Zhelev) made up of radical-minded Socialists who support the economic programme of the present opposition.

The MP's attending the rally let it be understood that it is possible to form a new majority in parliament. Now it is a BSP majority, but in their opinion part of the Socialists are inclined to give their support to the UDF.

The Socialists (formerly Communists) are unable to carry out the reforms. They showed they cannot rule alone. Andrey Lukanov has not the moral right to head Bulgaria's Government, some opposition speakers said and the crowd chanted demands for the resignation of the one-party Socialist cabinet. UDF activists reminded that most of the electorate do not put trust in the BSP any more and that the rating of the present government is very low.

The opposition leaders declared themselves to be against the parliamentary crisis and holding elections afresh. According to them what the country needs is rapid adoption of important laws which would democratize it. But they stated they would oppose the Socialist government if it took unfoundedly cruel steps impairing the social welfare. They predicted that Premier Lukanov's government would last until the end of the year at best.

The rally was held to mark the anniversary of Ecoglasnost's procession—the first public opposition drive in the country before the fall of former ruler Todor Zhivkov.

Zhelev's Future, Government Formation Viewed

AU0411190290 Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 4 Nov 90

["President Zhelev Will Visit Japan, but by That Time Bulgaria Will Probably Have New Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Nov (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev will leave for Japan at the end of next week to attend the coronation ceremony of the Japanese emperor.

Since he became president Dr. Zhelev will be accompanied by his wife for the first time on an overseas visit. Three advisers will also be with him.

Releasing the news on television today, the head of the office of the president, Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, was almost categorical that by the time the president leaves for Tokyo there will be a new government capable of rapidly laying the beginnings of the economic reform.

The president will have a greater chance at the talks he is to hold with representatives of the business circles in Japan if Bulgaria has a new government, Mr. Trifonov said.

After a lot of guesswork in the last days, this is the most authoritative supposition coming from the top administration that the present one-party socialist government headed by Mr. Andrey Lukanov will resign.

In the following days the president's most important task will be the formation of the new government, Mr. Trifonov stated. He did not make it clear whether the new government will be dominated by the Union of Democratic Forces or not.

Presidential Spokesman on Political Consultations

AU0211191990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] The weekly news conference of Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman of the chairman of the Republic, took place today in Sofia. A general assessment on the successful working week of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev was voiced and it was pointed out that the adoption of the law on establishing the Foreign Aid Agency is among the most significant achievements of his team.

Valentin Stoyanov was asked whether consultations among the political forces will take place next week, and whether at those consultations the political forces will take a stand on the present government and its program. This was his answer:

[Begin Stoyanov recording] The Political Consultative Council is convened by the president when he thinks that a certain issue has reached a dead end. Let me remind you that the Political Consultative Council does not usurp the functions of the parliament. The parliamentarian political forces and their leaderships are represented in the council, whose goal it is to smooth out some of the contradictions and facilitate the work of the parliament by affording the fractions to begin their work there on the basis of previously prepared materials. For the time being the president has not scheduled any consultations, because he feels that the political forces themselves can resolve the issues that divide them. When those forces reach the conclusion that they cannot reach an agreement, the president will intervene and organize political consultations. For the time being there is no such need. [end recording]

Parties Resume Talks on Disputed Local Councils

AU0211201290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] The consultative group of representatives of the main political forces has resumed its work on determining the compositions of the provisional executive committees of the oblast and municipal people's councils, concerning which disputes exist at the local level.

Under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, the group examined in a constructive spirit a number of proposals concerning the latest revisions for a number of municipal and oblast leaderships. The group also heard statements by certain members of parliament.

Students View Demands With BSP Supreme Council

AU0211205390 Sofia BTA in English 2022 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA)—Today representatives of the students' strike committees had talks with Mr. Lyubomir Kyuchukov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

The time limit of the memorandum in which the students demand from the BSP Supreme Council to assume responsibility for the dead-lock Bulgaria is in, to announce in public the informers of the State Security Department and to nationalize the property of the BSP and of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth which succeeded the Dimitrov Young Communist League expires on Monday [5 October].

At today's meeting the BSP expressed readiness to conduct a dialogue with the different student associations, no matter what part of the students they may represent, and gave answers to all questions, the Supreme Council announced.

Commenting on the meeting, the students said that the representatives of the BSP Supreme Council consider the students' evaluation of the present political and economic crisis in Bulgaria to be exaggerated. At the meeting in the Supreme Council the students were categorical that one year was enough for the BSP if it was really willing to declare its property. They defined as demagogy the statements made by high-ranking party officials that their party was interested in revealing the whole truth.

The students were surprised by the position of the BSP Supreme Council members who said that they could not exert any influence on Premier Andrey Lukanov's government regarding the students' concrete demands.

Opposition MP on BSP Secret Property Abroad

AU0411170890 Sofia BTA in English 1559 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Nov (BTA)—The former dictator of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, and other influential people of the recent past have bank accounts and immovable property abroad. Their interests are taken care of by people of influence—foreigners, whose names are a secret for the present Bulgarian Government, Ilko Askenazi, an opposition MP, stated today.

Interviewed by the Bulgarian Radio Mr. Askenazi, who is chairman of the parliamentary committee responsible for determining the property of the political parties, said that the money taken out of this country would never be returned. "I think that most of the money are lost for Bulgaria for good. One of the causes is the inertness of the government," the opposition MP stated.

In his opinion one of the main channels of exporting public means are the so-called overseas companies. The Bulgarian National Bank plays a special role in the business which, according to Mr. Askenazi and many other national representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces, is still controlled by the Bulgarian Socialist Party and involved in the legalization of the "dirty money" of the former Communist Party. He noted that in the last months Socialists holding top ranking posts in the state administration abused their power by exchanging transferable rubles for GDR marks which, on their turn, were exchanged for Deutsche marks.

The MP insisted on uncompromisingly investigating all similar speculations.

He gave some examples of illegal operations carried out by the municipal committees of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in the provinces as a result of which the party nomenclature had acquired, under the form of new companies, large estates and some of the most expensive luxury hotels and restaurants in the Golden Sands and the Sunny Beach holiday complexes on the Black Sea coast.

According to Mr. Askenazi the private companies set up in Western Europe by former members of the party and state leadership and even by Bulgarian ambassadors are also a form of embezzlement. Licensed by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, other similar companies are exporting abroad goods which are in shortage in the country, thus making big profits.

Most of the property of the former Communist Party must be returned to the state, because this party received huge subsidies from the state budget which it used to endorse itself, Mr. Askenazi pointed out.

ASO Insists on Placing Blame for Crisis

AU0211201690 Sofia BTA in English 1915 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA)—In its capacity of an opposition inside the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the Alternative Socialist Association (ASA) [ASO] categorically insists on immediately naming the concrete people who are to be blamed for the deep crisis of the society in Bulgaria and on their being tried. In a declaration received by the BTA today it is pointed out that "playing with the people's indignation is extremely dangerous."

For a whole year now the party leadership has been postponing the moment of truth, gaining time, pretending it does not know what it is all about and thinking up excuses for the delay. The ASA wants to open the party archives and insists that the whole political responsibility should be unconditionally assumed by the party and state top crust.

The present situation is absolutely intolerable and exclusively dangerous. Not a single culprit for the tragic condition the society is in has been really punished. Hiding behind collective responsibility, the culprits for the economic collapse of the country and its huge foreign debt are still among us and still at liberty, it is said in the declaration. Not only unpunished, but even unnamed are the inspirers, organizers and perpetrators of the most disgusting and shameful crime in the last few years—the so-called "regenerative process". Nobody has yet called to account the people who sent the Bulgarian tanks to Czechoslovakia, the "heroes" of the megalomaniac industrialization, the ideologists, leaders and activists of the Stalinist collectivization, the declaration goes on to say.

The ASA faction insists that the moral responsibility for the present situation in Bulgaria must be borne by all former and present members of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] or, as it is its name now, the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

ASP Wants Former Regime Officials To Resign

AU0311194790 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Nov (BTA)—In the declaration of the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) all functionaries who held top ranking positions in the municipal and the national administration before November 10, 1989, are called upon to resign.

The ASP, which is the newest member of the Union of Democratic Forces, points out that the appeal is not addressed to a definite political organization and that it is not aimed at the political ruin of a certain party. We call upon concrete persons, no matter whether they are members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party or are not members of any party whatsoever, it is said in the declaration. It is specified that the resignations should be given in by November 10, 1990, at the latest.

The ASP appeals on all parties, organizations and movements in Bulgaria, on the trade unions and the students and on all sensible and honest Bulgarian citizens to back up its demand. In case it is not met, on November 12 the ASP is going to declare a one-hour strike of warning and, subsequently, a nation-wide political strike on November 15.

The ASP calls for peaceful and democratic actions carried out by keeping peace, good order and security.

BSP Expels Khristov, Doynov, Vulcheva

AU0311150490 Sofia BTA in English 1319 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Nov (BTA)—DUMA announces that Emil Khristov, Ognyan Doynov and Drazha Vulcheva, former high-ranking functionaries at the time of Zhivkov's regime, have been expelled from the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

Emil Khristov, former Todor Zhivkov's aide, was expelled for proven corruption and power abuse out of mercenary motives and Ognyan Doynov, former member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], for having taken part in the adoption of political and economic decisions which plunged the country into the present unprecedented crisis.

The Socialists' All-Party Control Commission expelled Doynov in default, because now he works as an economic adviser for the Maxwell Communications Corporation in London. The commission will submit to the Prosecuting Magistracy all evidence proving Khristov and Doynov's legal offences.

Drazha Vulcheva, former BCP leader in the city of Plovdiv, was expelled for her authoritarian style of work and for having submitted to repressions a lot of party cadres in the past.

Dogan Warns of Coming Parliamentary Crisis

AU0311170590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] At a meeting held today with the Sliven Provisional Executive Council and local representatives of the main political forces today, Ahmed Dogan, chairman of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], stated that signs are appearing that the coming week will be very stormy. He expressed fears that the emerging government crisis may create conditions for a parliamentary crisis and chaos in society, which now, more than anything, needs stability.

According to Mr. Dogan, the DPS is aware of the exceptional nature of the present, and will take an active part in consultations with the other political forces to draft and adopt a new government program which will better recognize the realities and be better defined in terms of its time scale.

Ahmed Dogan, accompanied by a group of members of parliament, visited the Sliven District, which provided fruitful ground for consolidating the structures of the DPS.

Orthodox Communist Parties Hold Joint Conference

AU0311200290 Sofia BTA in English 1939 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Nov (BTA)—The conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) opened today in the little town of Panagyurishte; with the participation of representatives of 290 organizations from all over the country, it grew into a congress. It is a congress of "orthodox" Communists who do not want to be members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), which assumed this name a few months ago.

It turned out that the Communist Parties which are taking part in the congress are two: BCP and BCP (Marxists). BCP Chairman Vladimir Spasov told the BTA that it was the "result of the BSP's attempts to sow dissension in the BCP." The Zhivkovist nomenclature in the BSP is interested to eliminate the BCP and acts against it using the well-known methods to disunite it, Mr. Spasov said.

The orthodox Communists have initiated legal proceedings against the BSP making a claim on the BCP property, because the BSP has "robbed the BCP's legal successor of it and left to it only the Marxist-Leninist ideas," the BCP leader stated.

Mr. Spasov said that the BCP, which supported the BSP in the June general elections, was going to take part in the future local authorities and parliamentary elections with a list of its own. He made an appeal for bringing to court "the whole nomenclature which is to be blamed for the present situation in the country," pointing out that it must return what was robbed.

Zhelev's UN Remarks Denounced

AU0411192990 Sofia BTA in English 1904 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Nov (BTA)—The 15th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) ended in the town of Panagyurishte today with an appeal made on the "other progressive forces to set up a united people's anti-fascist front for fighting domestic and international banditism, terrorism and fascism".

The political declaration passed by the congress rejects the Lukanov program, making charges that the program presented by the prime minister of the socialist government will lead to the restoration of capitalism and will create socioeconomic anarchy, the possibility of a civil war being not ruled out.

It is insisted in the declaration that President Zhelyu Zhelev "should reconsider his speech at the United Nations of October 2, 1990 and apologize in public not only to the Communists in Bulgaria, but to the world communist movement, too". Along with other things, in the speech he delivered in New York the Bulgarian head of state stated that Bulgaria is no more a communist country.

Vladimir Spasov has been elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP. The congress has reestablished the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP as governing bodies of the party.

The BCP has initiated legal proceedings against the Bulgarian Socialist Party, making a claim on "the building of the BCP CC in Sofia". The congress has received a cable greetings from the Russian Communist Party.

TU Confederation Supports SDS-Led Coalition

AU0411192890 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Nov (BTA)—The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (CITUB) will support a coalition government "dominated" by the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], the leader of this influential trade union organization (until recently called "formal") stated on television this evening.

Professor Krustyu Petkov, president of CITUB—the successor of the Bulgarian Trade Unions which were totally depersonalized by the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] control at the time of Todor Zhivkov's rule, announces the decision of the trade unions on the eve of the consultations on the formation of a new cabinet which the political forces are starting tomorrow.

This will relieve the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) of the absurd duty to pretend it is building some kind of socialism, presenting at the same time an economic program which is more left-wing orientated [as received] even than Thatcher and Reagan's philosophy, Prof. Petkov said.

According to the trade union leader this will help settle a very serious problem of the opposition, which admits that about 80 percent of the Lukanov program has been "borrowed" from that of the UDF, and yet refuses to back up the head of the present one-party socialist cabinet.

The third, but most important motive for the CITUB decision is the possibility to "reverse" in a positive direction Bulgaria's unfavorable, according to Prof. Petkov, image in the hope of getting quick and efficient international support which is of vital importance for the success of the reform in the country.

He made an appeal on the Socialists to call to account the culprits for the country's catastrophic socioeconomic situation and demanded that for the sake of national concord and social peace the opposition should declare in public there will be no witch-hunting.

The trade unions will support a coalition government that would conform with their views and if it accepts their proposals concerning real income, employment and privatization.

The trade union leader argumentated the recent decision on the depoliticization of the CITUB leadership who will have to either leave the political parties or freeze their membership by the necessity to preserve the unity and affirm the independence of this influential trade union organization. He accused part of the BSP members and leaders of trying to disunite the CITUB.

I expect that by the end of next week Bulgaria will have a strong government that will lead us along the road Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland have embarked upon at a much greater pace, Prof. Krustyu Petkov said in conclusion.

Polls Indicate Fall in Socialists' Support

AU0311181490

[Editorial Report] Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian on 19 October devotes most of page 3 to a 4,000-word survey by Tsvetozar Tomov of the results of public opinion polls conducted by the Scientific Center for Public Opinion Research in the period from January to October 1990. No details are given on the numbers of persons questioned in the various polls, the sampling techniques, or any other information. The respondents' replies to the different questions are summarized in nine tables on page 3 and in a further table which appears on page 1 of the same issue. These tables summarize in percentages the replies to various questions asked in the polls, and the following abbreviations are used for the political parties:

BSP—Bulgarian Socialist Party;
SDS—Union of Democratic Forces;
BZNS—Bulgarian National Agrarian Union;
DPS—Rights and Freedoms Movement.

On page one, the table analyzes the replies to the question asked in an unidentified and undated poll:

"For which party would you vote if elections were held today?"

	BSP	SDS	DPS	BZNS
Total:	25.6	38.2	5.8	7.3
By Sex:				
Men	25.3	40.4	6.1	8.3
Women	25.9	36.3	5.6	6.3
Age distribution:				
Up to 30 years	15.4	51.9	6.4	2.3
31 to 40	21.8	43.8	5.9	5.2
41 to 50	29.0	37.1	4.9	6.3
51 to 60	32.6	32.9	5.1	9.0
Over 60	31.9	21.0	6.7	14.8
Social group:				
School and college students	7.8	64.7	2.0	3.9
Workers	20.8	44.5	8.4	5.7
Agricultural workers	28.2	29.1	15.4	9.4
White-collar employees	29.2	37.6	1.4	5.7

"For which party would you vote if elections were held today?" (Continued)

	BSP	SDS	DPS	BZNS
Intelligentsia	20.3	48.0	4.9	3.3
Pensioners	33.0	24.6	4.7	12.7
Education:				
Higher	26.3	44.5	1.4	2.9
Above secondary [polyvisshe]	27.9	40.9	1.9	5.2
Secondary	22.9	44.5	4.1	5.6
Primary	30.1	30.7	6.5	11.5
Below primary	25.5	13.0	21.7	11.4
Place of residence:				
Sofia	19.0	49.3	0.3	4.8
University town	26.0	42.1	0.5	5.0
Other town	26.3	40.1	3.1	6.5
Village	27.3	27.7	15.1	10.8

Support Expressed for the Different Political Parties Before and After the National Elections

1990:	Jan	Mar	Apr	May	Elections	Aug	Oct
BSP	45.4	49.8	49.9	49.9	47.2	39.6	31.5
SDS	30.6	31.3	36.4	30.6	36.2	39.3	46.7
BZNS	13.1	11.3	11.1	10.9	8.0	8.6	9.0
DPS	-	-	-	5.2	6.0	6.8	7.2
Others	11.0	7.7	2.6	3.4	2.8	4.7	5.6

Which Political Side Acted Constructively in the Roundtable Talks and Later in the Grand National Assembly?

	March	April	August	October
Both sides	9.2	16.8	12.6	6.6
BSP	26.9	23.8	20.5	16.8
SDS	7.1	16.9	26.9	29.9
Neither	22.9	16.9	19.1	27.5
Cannot judge	23.9	25.6	20.8	19.3

"Are you satisfied with the Grand National Assembly?"

	August	October
Yes	22.8	12.9
No	47.5	62.0
No impressions	8.1	9.0
Cannot judge	21.5	16.2

Appraisals of the last 45 years of Bulgarian history:

	April	May	August	October
Positive	30.2	35.9	23.0	20.1
Mixed	36.3	27.3	25.9	28.5
Negative	21.2	28.1	42.6	46.0
No opinion	12.3	8.7	8.5	5.4

The respondents' assessments of their personal material situations grew more pessimistic during 1990, as shown by the following results:

	Jan	Mar	Apr	May	Aug	Oct
Very good	1.5	2.7	1.6	2.7	1.2	0.7
Normal	47.1	49.5	50.1	57.6	44.0	39.8
Bad	33.4	30.1	31.1	27.2	35.9	43.4
Very bad	18.0	17.8	17.2	12.4	18.8	16.1

The following replies (with results given as percentages) were given to the question asked in two polls held in May and in polls conducted in June and October 1990:

"If elections were held today, which of the following parties and organizations in your view would gain the most votes"?

	1 May	2 May	June	October
BSP	43.9	41.8	46.4	17.4
SDS	20.9	17.4	15.4	44.3
Another party	0.3	2.0	0.6	2.6
Cannot judge	30.4	35.0	34.2	35.7

The respondents' attitudes towards a coalition government of all political parties were as follows:

	Jan	Mar	Apr	May	Aug	Oct
Approval	43.3	61.3	59.6	69.8	68.2	65.2
Disapproval	21.0	13.8	15.2	10.1	15.1	19.9
No opinion	35.7	24.9	25.1	20.1	16.7	14.9

Finally, the respondents' views during the year of the two main political forces, the BSP and the SDS, were as follows:

Attitude toward SDS

	Jan	Mar	Apr	May	Aug	Oct
Approval	40.4	37.2	38.0	35.4	56.7	60.3
Disapproval	18.6	29.4	28.1	40.1	27.1	24.4

Attitude toward BSP

	Jan	Mar	Apr	May	Aug	Oct
Approval	48.3	52.8	50.0	58.4	46.6	40.3
Disapproval	28.0	24.3	22.2	25.5	39.2	48.5

Lukanov Asks Prosecutor To Act Against Sit-Ins

AU0211203090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] In connection with reports received by the Council of Ministers concerning current and forthcoming strike actions, clashes, and occupations of the premises of our companies, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov has requested the chief prosecutor of the Republic to assess the legality of these activities.

The government believes that, given the present situation, such actions may have the consequences of destabilizing the national economy which would threaten the normal supplies of essential goods to the population. The country faces the danger of [word indistinct].

In accordance with its powers and the recommendations of the chief prosecutor, the government will take the necessary measures to protect citizens' rights, [words indistinct] the country, and prevent possible complications.

Examining Magistrate Complains of Work Overload

AU0311200090 Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Nov (BTA)—The numerous problems an investigation involves sometimes turn it into a "time bomb" which can blow up Bulgarian justice, Colonel Khristo Mishev, chairman of the Union of Examining Magistrates' Union, states in the DUMA paper.

According to the leader of the Examining Magistrates' Trade Union, six hundred of them have got to cope with a real avalanche of "preliminary investigations" which is constantly growing in parallel with the growth of criminality.

About 70 thousand investigations are annually brought to completion in Bulgaria, but this year the number of cases exceeds the "traditional" one by about two thousand a month, Colonel Mishev says.

The examining magistrates are faced by a lot of unsettled social and labour problems which also impede their work.

The way out of this situation is to build up a uniform investigation apparatus which would include another 300 investigation workers. They will not have the status of examining magistrates, but will take the simpler cases, thus relieving the experts from part of the burden.

The union has made a proposal to this effect to the minister of the interior, Colonel Mishev announces.

Sailors' Strike Delaying Ships in Burgas Port

AU0211171890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] The strike by sailors of the Bulgarian Maritime Fleet is causing serious strains in the operation of the Burgas port complex, where work has stopped on seven ships, which remain in their berths on the quays.

For example, the unloading of cast iron from the ship (?Chube Chumerna) has stopped, and the ship Lyuben Karavelov, with a cargo of zinc concentrate for the Plovdiv Nonferrous Metals Plant, stands idle. In addition, the Soviet ship Bogdan Khmelnitskiy has been anchored in the roadstead for three days, with a cargo of cast iron and structures for our industrial sites.

There is no doubt that the forced inaction of the dockers and port equipment operators will lead to serious losses for the port complex and will delay the arrival of goods and raw materials.

Disputes Reported Over Television Management

AU0211195590 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA)—There are still conflicts at the Bulgarian Television.

The leadership of the Committee for Television who were almost united in the summer when they distanced themselves from the then chairman—the Socialist Pavel Pisarev, whom the students forced to resign—now is split again.

The new chairman has not been appointed by parliament yet. Now a fight is fought at the top between part of the television workers and the programme director, Kevork Kevorkyan, the anchorman of the popular "Every Sunday" programme, who does not conceal his anti-Socialist views.

Today part of the leadership and some eminent analysts and directors came out with a declaration in which they side with Ivan Popyordanov, the deputy chairman of the committee, and insist before the Bulgarian parliament that his employment contract should not be unilaterally discontinued. "With his civic and professional qualities, he is greatly needed in television," they say.

Yesterday Mr. Popyordanov accused Mr. Kevorkyan before two parliamentary committees (the Bulgarian Television is directly controlled by parliament) of having usurped the control on all information, thus ignoring the other members of the leadership. Mr. Popyordanov was supported by other deputy directors of the committee and leadership members. They all were unanimous that Kevorkyan is at the bottom of all problems related to the present television programmes. Mr. Kevorkyan was also blamed for having changed several times "Round the World and at Home," the major evening information block.

Mr. Popyordanov stated before the two committees that the question of the future leadership should not be endlessly postponed, because it delays the working out of an all-round programme scheme for Channel 1 and Channel 2 and the separation of the two channels. The structural and financial mechanisms are hopelessly outdated and inefficient. The condition all equipment is in is tragic, Mr. Popyordanov underlined.

National Assembly Establishes Foreign Aid Agency

AU0211121990 Sofia BTA in English 1022 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA)—The Bulgarian parliament today enacted legislation creating a Foreign Aid Agency as a state body which will receive, distribute and supervise the utilization of the aid made available to Bulgaria by foreign governmental and non-governmental organizations.

The agency was established on the initiative of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic. In his motives laid down in an address to parliament, the head of state pointed out that a large part of the aid never reached its intended recipients. They have been distributed and used by various bodies and organizations, not always with good coordination. In some cases the will of the donators has been ignored.

The MP's resolved to assign the enforcement of the act to the president and the prime minister. The president will be getting weekly reports on the operation of the agency.

Austria Grants Aid To Develop Private Farming

AU0211171690 Sofia BTA in English 1655 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov(BTA)—Austria will grant to Bulgaria free-of-charge aid in the form of 542 tons of sausages amounting to 16,600,000 Austrian shillings. The consignments will be sent by seven Austrian companies in about five week's time.

The profit made on the sale of the sausages in the home market will go to the specialized fund for the development of agriculture set up with the Bulgarian National Bank. The money will be utilized only for financing projects for the promotion of private farming.

To guarantee the correct functioning of the fund a joint committee comprising representatives of both sides will be set up to determine which of the projects are most prospect-holding and to allow their financing.

Gotsev Meets Hungarian Counterpart in Budapest

AU0311194690 Sofia BTA in English 1911 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, 3 Nov (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, had a meeting with his Hungarian counterpart, Mr. Geza Jeszenszky. The two ministers expressed their conviction that despite some difficulties, traditional Bulgaro-Hungarian relations have good prospects for development.

Mr. Gotsev underlined that the political forces in Bulgaria share the same opinion on the further expansion of the two countries' cooperation. It is necessary to look for new forms and channels of promoting Bulgaro-Hungarian cooperation and of solving the existing problems.

The Bulgarian foreign minister invited his Hungarian counterpart to visit Bulgaria. It was agreed that the visit will take place before the summer of 1991.

Greece's Karamanlis Receives Chairman Todorov

AU0311170390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] On the second day of his working visit to Athens, Academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, was received by President Konstandinos Karamanlis.

In an exceptionally cordial and friendly atmosphere, they exchanged ideas on a broad spectrum of issues connected with Bulgarian-Greek relations and the situation in the region. The Greek statesman specially stressed that the good-neighborliness and friendship between the two states form an important stabilizing factor in the Balkans. He noted that the relations between our countries should develop in the interest of the two peoples, without considering party interests. Konstandinos Karamanlis offered his best wishes for Bulgaria's prosperity and stability.

The Bulgarian visitor's meeting with the chairman of the Greek Parliament, Athanasios [name indistinct] took place in the same atmosphere. They briefed one another on the work of the legislative organs and emphasized that, in accordance with excellent condition of relations between the two states, closer contacts and cooperation are needed between the Bulgarian and Greek parliaments. Athanasios [indistinct] announced that, by unanimous agreement of all the Greek parties represented in parliament, a group of parliamentary members called Friends of Bulgaria had been formed. He accepted with thanks an invitation to make an official visit to Bulgaria at the head of a parliament delegation.

At Nikolay Todorov's meetings with Athanasios Kanellopoulos, deputy prime minister and the Greek minister of justic, and with Academician Yeoryios [name indistinct], chairman of the Athens Academy of Sciences, stress was laid on the importance of Bulgarian-Greek relations for the Balkan region and common wishes were expressed for expanding cooperation in all fields.

Zhelev, Lukanov Receives Japan's Okita

AU0211135890 Sofia BTA in English 1202 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, today conferred with Dr. Saburo Okita, president of the Japanese Institute for Internal and Foreign Politics, on aspects of Bulgaro-Japanese cooperation. They considered the opportunities for possible assistance and participation of Japanese businessmen in the transition from a centrally planned to a free-market economy.

The Japanese guest was received today by the prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov.

Need for Political Consensus Noted

AU0211195490 Sofia BTA in English 1813 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA)—Dr. Saburo Okita, a Japanese economist and politician and president of Japan's Institute for Foreign and Home Policy Researches, considers that now Bulgaria needs political consensus on the problem of overcoming the crisis.

He stated at a news conference today that the countries of the European Community are the most natural market for Bulgaria's goods. The stimulation of production will result in a change of the market and will increase the country's exports. Dr. Okita recommends to prioritize agriculture, the food industry and tourism. He noted that now Bulgaria's industrial products will encounter severe competition in the world market.

As far as the cooperation between Bulgaria and Japan is concerned, the two countries' friendly relations are of long standing. Japan has been willingly buying Bulgarian wine, and the consumption of wine there has gone up sharply of late, especially among the younger generation. Tourism seems to have very good prospects as a field of cooperation between the two countries because of the growing interests of the Japanese in new European tours. Investments are also possible, if there is political stability in Bulgaria and if private business is encouraged.

Economic Delegation Holds Talks in Israel

AU0211205290 Sofia BTA in English 2002 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Jerusalem, 2 Nov (BTA)—A Bulgarian economic delegation has paid a visit to Israel. The business circles in Israel showed interest in the accelerated expansion of the economic relations with Bulgaria's industry. Some projects in the following fields were discussed: construction, meliorative equipment, metal-working machines, the processing of fruit and vegetables, electronics, sea transport, the food industry, household products of the chemical and the machine-building industry and the light industry.

There are good possibilities for Bulgarian building companies' participating in the housing construction in Israel and supplying building materials.

The Bulgarian Economic Chamber on the one hand and the Manufacturers' Association in Israel and the Israeli Export Institute signed an agreement on assisting and encouraging all business undertakings, setting up a joint fund included.

It was agreed with the Israeli Corporation for Insuring Foreign Trade Risks to open a credit line in favour of Bulgaria guaranteed by the Government of Israel.

The leadership of the Israeli Ministry of Trade and Industry confirmed its readiness to speed up the conclusion of a trade agreement between the two countries.

There are real possibilities to establish joint ventures and make use of other forms of investments in Bulgarian industry, agriculture and banking.

FRG's Genscher Continues Prague Visit

New Treaty To Be Negotiated

LD0211175290 Hamburg DPA in German
1558 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Prague (DPA)—The Federal Republic [of Germany] and Czechoslovakia intend to negotiate a new treaty to regulate future relations between the two countries. Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Czechoslovak counterpart Jiri Dienstbier announced this to journalists in Prague today. Genscher, who is on a short visit to Prague, also met President Vaclav Havel, Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, as well as the archbishop of Prague, Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek.

The new agreement is to take up from the so-called 1973 normalization treaty between the two countries, but at the same time will take into account the new political situation. Genscher said that the new treaty must be "forward-looking," and point to future prospects. Dienstbier added that all issues from the past should be finally settled with this treaty.

In response to the question of whether the property claims by Sudeten Germans was mentioned, the minister said that they had not touched upon personal demands. Both governments must negotiate about possible claims.

Genscher stressed that Bonn strongly supports swift and substantial negotiations on the treaty of association between the CSFR and the EEC. This is also an important factor for stability. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) provides the pan-European framework, while the European Community is a partner for its Eastern neighbors, the German foreign minister said. "The EEC is an anchor of stability for the whole of Europe," he added.

They made joint preparations for the CSCE summit in Paris in mid-November so that a stable framework will be created until European unification. Both ministers spoke in favor of institutionalizing the CSCE process. Genscher did not comment on the possible setting up of a CSCE Secretariat in Prague, but said that Berlin was a suitable location for a planned center for settling conflicts.

Comments on Czech EC Membership

LD0211192190 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister, arrived in Prague this morning for a brief working visit. Olga Jerabkova, our reporter, has more details:

[Jerabkova] Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived in Czechoslovakia as the first high-ranking FRG government official since the unification of Germany on 3 October this year. [passage omitted] A news conference on the outcome of the visit was held in Cernin Palace [Foreign Ministry seat] in the afternoon in the presence of both foreign ministers, Genscher and Dienstbier. Hans-Dietrich Genscher delivered at the start of the news conference a brief exposition, from which we have selected the following:

[Begin Genscher recording in German with superimposed Czech translation] We talked about the future of Czechoslovak-German relations, because we are immediate neighbors and our mutual relations are important not only for both our countries, but also for the whole of Europe, for the EC and for Pan-European unity and stability. [end recording]

The FRG, Minister Genscher went on to say, will work to ensure that Czechoslovakia can become an associate member of the EC in the near future and enable us as neighbors to take our seats jointly in the Council of Europe. Minister Genscher went on to stress that on the agenda of the talks were preparations for the European summit in Paris and that the state of disarmament talks on conventional weapons in Vienna were also discussed.

Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier thanked the German guest for finding time so shortly after the unification of Germany to visit Czechoslovakia. He expressed hope that both countries will follow up on all that has linked us in the past and what will certainly link us in the future. Minister Dienstbier had the following to say about the Czechoslovak-German treaty now being drawn up:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] Several important talks will be held in the immediate future. Our prime minister is planning a visit to Bonn at the end of the current month. Federal Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales is planning to hold discussions with FRG Economy Minister Haussmann about all specific economic issues connected with the unification of Germany and the collapse of former cooperation between Czechoslovak and GDR enterprises, and we ought to resolve all these issues in the immediate future. [end recording]

On the question of property claims by Sudetan Germans, both ministers took an unequivocal stance in the sense that the issues of territorial claims and property relations come under the jurisdiction of both governments and not of private initiatives and social groups. The visit to Czechoslovakia by Hans- Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister has now ended.

Comments on Relations

LD0211235990 Prague Television Service
in Czech 2135 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by unidentified correspondent on 2 November; place not given—Genscher and correspondent speak in German fading into Czech translation]

[Text] [Announcer] FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived in Prague today. In the course of working discussions with Czechoslovak representatives, they focused mainly on questions of future mutual economic relations.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. Minister, since the unification of Germany, voices have been heard in Czechoslovakia which have clearly been positive; on the other hand, there have also been those which have had an opposite tone.

[Genscher] I do not see any reason for concern. On the contrary, a divided Germany posed problems for all of Europe, and now the Germans have resolved that problem. We can, therefore, work for European-wide interests and affairs, while good relations with our immediate neighbors play a prime role. This is why I met President Havel and Foreign Minister Dienstbier, to prepare an extensive German-Czechoslovak treaty which should raise our relations to a new level and quality, and fully respect the future and perspectives. Everything ought to lead to the obliteration of economic differences and the creation of united Europe. At the same time we want to jointly devote ourselves to ecological, economic, and other issues.

[Reporter] Why have German businessmen and companies been investing so carefully and sporadically in Czechoslovakia?

[Genscher] I believe the reason lies in a certain confusion about the economic changes and in the fact that they have not been fully completed as of yet. We, too, have had similar experiences with the new federal lands which previously belonged to the GDR. I am convinced that a purposeful reform policy in the economic sphere will eliminate barriers which presently stand in the way of those who could and would like to invest in your country. Furthermore, such a policy will lead to the traditionally industrially advanced Czechoslovakia becoming attractive again to all businessmen from Europe as well as from the United States and elsewhere, whose interest will lead to a further economic development of your country.

We prepared ourselves very carefully for the meeting in Prague, and in a number of areas we shall be very specific. After the removal of the Berlin Wall and the barbed wire, we no longer want anything that would divide us. [end recording]

Meets Havel, Calfa, Others

AU0311183090 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 Nov 90 p 2

["(bko)"-signed report: "Genscher and Riesenhuber Go to Prague for Consultations"]

[Text] Prague, 2 November—On Friday [2 November] Foreign Minister Genscher met in Prague with leading CSFR politicians for talks about the state of relations between the two countries. In meetings with President Havel, Federal Assembly Chairman Dubcek, Premier Calfa, and Foreign Minsiter Dienstbier, the economic relations of the two countries after the completion of German unification, the reform processes in central and Eastern Europe, as well as the disarmament process with a view to the CSCE conference in Paris on 19 November were discussed. As has been learned from Prague, Genscher began negotiations with the object of turning the normalization treaty of 11 December 1973 into a friendship treaty as it exists with France. Genscher's visit continued regular consultations, which were agreed on in February during the visit of Foreign Minister Dienstbier in Nuremberg between the FRG and the CSFR. Genscher, who was also received by Cardinal Tomasek, laid a wreath in Wenceslas Square, the site of the November demonstrations. A visit by the foreign minister to the newly opened Goethe Institute in Prague was also scheduled.

Before Genscher's visit, a Bonn Foreign Minister spokesman said that the "neighborly relations" between the two countries are "very good and cordial." There are no difficulties which strain the relations. The FRG Government welcomes the abolition of compulsory visas in mutual tourist traffic and the development of contacts among the people. Genscher's visit is overshadowed, however, by the disquiet caused by the latest demands of the Sudeten German Refugees' Association in the CSFR. In a letter to President Havel, the Germans from the Sudeten region pointed out that the refugees' claims to property in the CSFR have not expired.

In the morning, FRG Research Minister Riesenhuber and CSFR Strategic Planning Minister Hoffmann signed an agreement on scientific-technological cooperation in Prague. The FRG has concluded similar agreements with all other CEMA states. Riesenhuber said that it is the goal of the agreement to promote "cooperation between German and CSFR scientists in research projects through mutual exchange of staff, mutual use of technical installations, and division of labor." With the agreement, which has been negotiated for 17 years, a catalogue of 30 research projects, which have already been agreed on, becomes effective. The projects come from the fields of material research, reactor safety, chemistry, agriculture, and medical research. In the future, CSFR and German researchers also plan to cooperate in the deep continental plate drilling in Windischeschenbach. Hoffmann announced that all opportunities of cooperation are planned to be exploited in particular in the energy sector, environmental protection, information technology, and the health sector. Regarding the restrictions imposed on technological cooperation by the list of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls, Hoffmann said that the CSFR Government has taken measures that ensure better control of imported high technology and thus facilitate a shortening of the list of prohibited items. Riesenhuber announced that the FRG Government will advocate cutting back the list. The German side is interested in the success of the reforms in the traditional industrial country, CSFR. For this purpose, frank cooperation is necessary. Together with the CSFR side, it is intended to examine which of the scientific agreements, which Prague concluded with the former GDR, should be continued.

Riesenhuber, who pointed out that the agreement is the first treaty with a CEMA state without a Berlin clause, wants to invite the research and technology ministers of central and Eastern Europe for an "informal meeting" to Bonn in the spring, to discuss how their countries can be integrated in all-European research, including Eureka. The minister called for a common research strategy for all of Europe. Difficulties, such as environmental pollution, can only be solved together, Riesenhuber said.

Meets Officials, Leaves for Home

LD0211210790 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German vice chancellor and foreign affairs minister arrived today for a visit to Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted] After a news conference the German guest greeted Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek in the Archbishop's Palace. He was also received by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek. During their conversation, the German guest expressed interest in the present nationalities problems and how they are expected to develop. He said, among other things, that the federation fully corresponds to the experiences of the FRG, and that he sees the future of Europe in a federative system, in which the nations of Europe will be able to preserve their identity.

In the early evening Hans-Dietrich Genscher met with Premier Marian Calfa. He said, among other things, that Czechoslovakia is interested in the reconstruction of the economy in the eastern part of Germany, including the historical links with partner organizations in Czechoslovakia. Marian Calfa also expressed the pressing interest of our country in linking Czechoslovak oil and gas pipelines to the Western European network. Hans-Dietrich Genscher ended his visit to Czechoslovakia and left by air for home.

Scientific Agreement Signed With FRG

LD0211143290 Berlin ADN International Service in German 1102 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Prague (ADN)—A treaty on scientific-technical cooperation between the CSFR and the FRG was signed in Prague today. The accord was signed by Pavel Hoffmann, CSFR national economic strategy minister, and Heinz Riesenhuber, FRG research and technology minister, and outlines conditions for cooperation between the two countries over the next five years. Part of the treaty—which both sides describe as setting off in the direction of a common Europe—is a program of, for the time being, 30 joint projects which will expand or continue as required. The present commitments encompass, among other things, selected projects in the fields of chemistry, biotechnology, energetics, and the health service. [passage omitted]

Commentary Predicts Warsaw Pact Dissolution

AU3110191690 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 26 Oct 90 p 5

[Viliam Buchert commentary: "Farewell, Friendly Armies!"]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting in Budapest has been postponed following a request from the Soviet Union. It is probable that this meeting will take place before the end of the year. Can we expect the member states to adopt any fundamental decisions at the meeting? This is also probable as the Pact's military structures have already become an anachronism.

Of course, opinions about the Warsaw Pact vary in individual countries. Czechoslovakia and Hungary are more or less inclined toward the abolition of the existing structures. Poland is hesitant because it has certain anxieties about the united Germany, and Romania and Bulgaria are trying to purloin as many weapons as possible from this situation (these states have made it practically impossible to negotiate about the amount of military hardware; they are constantly demanding higher quotas for themselves, and there have even been some reports that if they achieve the number they want, they would like to trade with these weapons in the Third World). The Soviet Union is a different story altogether; this country has an interest in maintaining the Eastern military alliance. On the whole, it has logical reasons for this and—in this instance—there is no reason not to believe them. Determining individual ceilings on weaponry for Warsaw Pact countries will make the Vienna disarmament talks considerably easier; this will have a subsequent effect on the Paris security summit planned for November.

This year there has already been some success in resolving several very important problems within the Pact. These include the incorporation of the former GDR into NATO and the associated agreement on financial compensation for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from German territory. Occupying units are being withdrawn from our country and from Hungary and, in our case, this is taking place relatively smoothly and without problems.

Following the changes in the political regimes in Eastern Europe, the Warsaw Pact's military structure seems to be an anachronism. This is also on account of the growing importance of NATO in the East, where some politicians see the guarantee for Europe's peaceful future in the organization situated in Brussels.

The approaching Paris negotiations will, obviously, become a certain milestone. If, during their course, a fundamental agreement is reached among the participating states, a quick end to the Warsaw Pact's military Moloch may be expected. The Pact's political structures will probably continue to exist for some time so that it may be possible to somehow coordinate the Eastern European countries' military policy. However, as Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said in Tokyo on Wednesday [24 October], Czechoslovakia expects the complete abolition of the Warsaw Pact by the beginning of 1992.

Today, however, it is already clear that the final farewell to the "friendly" armies is getting closer.

President Bush Scheduled To Visit 17 Nov

LD0211163990 Prague CTK in English 1535 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 2 (CTK)—U.S. President George Bush will visit Czechoslovakia on November 17, at the invitation of President Vaclav Havel.

The one-day visit to Prague, the first in the history of relations between the two states, will take place on the first anniversary of the start of the democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia.

Havel Discusses Slovakia, Bush Visit

LD0411163690

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1315 GMT on 4 November carries a 23-minute recording of an interview with President Vaclav Havel, conducted by journalist Jiri Vejvoda in the president's private residence on 3 November. The interview is the station's regular feature, entitled "conversations at lany."

President Havel opens by saying that immediately after this interview, he is going for a week's rest, as well as to work, at a secret location in Czechoslovakia. The interview will, therefore, not take place next week, and will be resumed on Sunday 18 November.

Asked about a recent article in the EXPRESS journal, which accused Charter 77 of having been in collusion with the secret services, the president says that although he would not like to dwell too long on this he sees some dangers in such articles. They try to create an impression that there is some secret hand guiding events and that ordinary people have no influence and are powerless. This can have a discouraging and destabilizing effect. Such things often happen whenever there is social unrest, or a climate of nervousness, impatience, or dissatisfaction and when people have the feeling that things are not going well. That kid of atmosphere is a fertile ground for such voices, and Hitler used it to great effect.

Vejvoda asks: "Last Sunday bore the imprint of your meeting with the representatives of three governments in Slavkov. Would you like to return to that meeting after the lapse of one week, Mr. President?"

Havel replies: "I believe that the meeting in Slavkov on 28 October was very important. It was not merely a meeting of three prime ministers and their advisors, but also of the representatives of the main political forces that are participating in the coalition at the federal level. I believe that it was a very successful meetig because it was held at the time of the adoption of the language law and when extremist and separatist voices and manifestations were on the rise in Slovakia. The declaration adopted in Slavkov was a kind of an unequivocal word in which representatives of the nations which legitimately elected them in free elections said clearly that they see the future of the nations in a common federative state. At this very moment, when we are free and when anyone can say whatever he wants, when we are only at the start of building a new democratic order, it is of great importance that such a fundamental and unequivocal word was spoken. In its own way, the declaration follows up on the Martin Declaration, the Pittsburg Agreement, and the basic documents which were adopted at the birth of our state, and it confirms them in the new historic conditions, and for this reason it was a good thing that it happened precisely on 28 October."

Vejvoda then asks: "Your three-day visit to Slovakia was undoubtedly the dominant feature of the last week. I believe that the visit was prepared for some time, and that you were considering it along with your advisers for some time. In the end it took place at quite a dramatic time which, however, offered more than one solution, apparently with your contribution. We were following various points of your program beginning with your speech at the Komesky University, through your meetings with striking students, including those who were on a hunger strike, up to your trips to the Slovak countryside. I would however be interested to know what stuck most in your memory from this visit to Slovakia?"

Havel replies: "I would like to say above all that the visit had been planned for some time, and that I did not travel to Slovakia in response to a situation at this or that particular moment. I am supposed to go to Slovakia for three-day periods and exercise my office from there. It was to a certain extent a coincidence that my visit fell into such an excited and inflamed atmosphere in Slovakia. I would say that the visit was overall, in my view, very important. I would say that my trip was successful. In the first place I was able to orient myself better in that situation, since I have been able to talk to a variety of people, both from the Slovak political representation, representatives of various parties, and ordinary citizens and the like. At large meetings I met the public. This culminated at the end of my visit with the large-scale mass gathering in Sastin.

"My impression was quite clear, and that is that the majority of people I met stand behind our federation and that they want to live along with the Czechs in one common state. We were given an immensely kind reception, and expressions of separatism or something like it were completely marginal and sporadic. At the same time I have to say that whenever I am in Slovakia or when I am there for a longer time, I begin to know and understand better some Slovak demands or claims. I totally understand that the Slovaks want to have certain areas of state administration in their hands. I understand quite well why they resent Prague-centrism, and why they do not see why Prague should decide every matter which concerns purely local affairs of which they have to a certain degree a better perception. I understand all this well.

"Despite this, I believe, however, that the debates on power-sharing which are going to come to a climax in the near future ought to be guided above all by the idea of the functioning of the common state. These powers ought not to be divided in such a way that the state as a whole will begin to lose its capacity for actions, its separate identity on the international arena, and in general that it will cease to function as a federative state. This must be clearly guarded against, and it is necessary to be guided by a vision of what is relevant and practical."

Asked about the conflict in the Slovak Government between the prime minister and his interior minister, the president says that although he does not want to interfere, he cannot stand aside either. He was asked to involve himself in the matter, and in the end he was glad that the affair ended with an agreement and a certain compromise.

Talking about his travels around the Slovak countryside, he says he was struck by the difference between Slovak and Czech villages and countryside. Villages in Slovakia have maintained their traditional character. There is an atmosphere of peace and contentment in them.

Asked to comment on the bill on the privatization of large enterprises approved by the Federal Government last Thursday, President Haval says that although he does not precisely know the changes made to the bill since he read it 10 days ago, he is enormously glad that the draft bill was approved and that there is therefore hope that the Federal Assembly will approve it by the end of the current year. He thinks that in its basic outlines the bill seems good to him and that it is perhaps even more important than the privatization of small businesses, since the current bill concerns the essence of the whole economy. The resolution of ownership is a prerequisite and a part of the transition to market economy. It is now clear that things are getting moving after a period of standing still, debates and arguments.

Vejvoda then says: "When you made an official visit to the United States at the end of February—the first president in the history of our modern state to do so—you also invited your counterpart President George Bush to visit Czechoslovakia. At the time there were whispers, evidently unfounded, that he might come as early as May for the celebrations of the end of World War Two and to mark the part played in it by U.S. troops in our country; then they began to say autumn, although that perhaps looked less likely against the backdrop of the Persian Gulf crisis. Now the public has been pleased by the news—on Friday, I think it was—that a visit by President Bush is to be the icing on the cake of the first anniversary of our revolution."

Havel responds: "I spoke with President Bush when I was in the United States at the UN summit and again reminded him of our invitation. He told me that he would be extremely pleased to come but he absolutely could not make any promises or guarantees owing to his workload and the tense situation in the Persian Gulf, and it was very uncertain whether he would come—the likelihood appeared to be that he would not.

"Now the decision has finally been made that he will come, which is an honor for our country, because he will be in Europe for the Paris summit in November, to which we also will be sending a delegation, of course. We are in fact the only European country which he will be visiting in the autumn, although, it is true, from Czechoslovakia he will be stopping off for a few hours in the Federal Republic of Germany, from where he will go on to Paris. It is very important that it is our country he has decided to visit, and precisely on the anniversary of 17 November.

"Talks are going on about the possibility—at least President Bush said he was interested—of him making a keynote political speech, probably his most important one this year concerning Europe and its problems. He would most likely make that speech in parliament, the Federal Assembly. He also expressed the wish to address the public on Wenceslas Square. All this, of course, is the subject of intensive talks at the moment, and we hope that this is what will happen and that our people will be able to hear his greetings at what has traditionally been a melting pot of history, so to speak."

Vejvoda concludes by thanking President Havel for the comments, views and information he has given today.

Communist Party Convenes 18th Congress

LD0311231390 Prague CTK in English 1308 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 3 (CTK)—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia started its two-day 18th congress here today to complete federalization of the party, but had to be interrupted at noon for two hours after an anonymous telephone call warned that a bomb had been planted in the congress hall.

The 868 delegates had to leave the building on police instruction, though previously they unanimously voted not to heed the warning and continue their work.

Before the interruption, the delegates elected by secret ballot Miroslav Grebenicek candidate of the regional Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia for the post of chairman of the federal leaderhip of the party.

Grebenicek, a 43-year-old historian teaching at Masaryk University in Brno, closely won over the present First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Vasil Mohorita, 38, who recently raised a wave of anti-Communist demonstrations by his statement that the period of national understanding in Czechoslovakia is over. Earlier this month, he was voted out from the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament).

Grebenicek will alternate at the head of the Council of the Federation of Communists of Czechoslovakia, which is to replace the former Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, with representative of the Communist Party of Slovakia-Party of the Democratic Left, Pavol Kanis, in year-long terms. The current congress will decide who of the two will hold the post of chairman first.

The Council of the Federation of Communists of Czechoslovakia will consist of the same number of representatives of both national parties, including members of the communist groups in the Federal, Czech and Slovak parliaments.

The delegates are also to decide whether the party will be renamed into the Federation of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the Communist Party of Slovakia-Party of the Democratic Left. The change would complete the year-long federalization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia within which the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia was set up as one national subject last march, while the Communist Party of Slovakia-Party of the Democratic Left was turned from a mere territorial organization into the other national subject.

The congress will also assess the history of the party up to the present, discuss its program and pay special attention to the party's socio-economic policy.

The 868 delegates represent a membership of over 700,000. Invited to the congress were representatives of theoretical institutes of left-wing parties from Europe.

The venue of the congress was held secret until the last moment, probably out of fear of possible anticommunist demonstrations. Originally, the congress was to be held in the Palace of Culture, the venue of the two previous congresses of the party which was then described by the Constitution as the leading force of society. However, in spite of financial losses of the Palace of Culture, its management refused to lease the Palace for the congress. Therefore, it will be held at several places in Prague.

The report presented to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by its Central Committee voices the view that the policy of national understanding ended in Czechoslovakia de jure by the June 9 parliamentary elections and by the formation of the government by the winning political forces.

De facto the policy of national understanding was challenged by the declaration of the "second revolution" in summer (which is aimed at purifying especially the economic sphere from supporters of the former totalitarian communist rule). "The policy of national understanding has not been called into question by the Communists by the views, but by other political forces by their concrete deeds," the report says.

It notes that the Communists did not support the blueprint for the economic reform (of September) because the party does not view it as sufficiently elaborated. It does not respect the plurality and equality of various forms of ownership. The privatization of shops, services and small business (so-called small privatization) and of big enterprises (big privatization) as it is to be done according to the blueprint can generate speculative profits, and inherent in it is the danger of inflation, mass-scale and cheap selling out of national property and wealth, social impacts and uncertainty, the report says and adds that "the party cannot be silent if the blueprint generates the real threat of unemployment for one million or even more people within two years".

The party Central Committee expresses disagreement with the fact that decisions for the implementation of the market economy are adopted by one group of people having identical views without regard for different views of other experts, representatives of the production sphere and trade unions.

"We cannot agree that many economic and social problems are constantly linked with Communists in leading and managerial posts. Calls for purges decrease the already insufficient and dwindling performance of the national economy and trust of foreign enterprises," the report says.

"A number of attacks against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are motivated by the disappointment of some political forces which expected the party to quickly disintegrate, to lose any political influence after November 1989," the report goes on.

According to it, the party supports dialogue, not confrontation between political forces. It demands investigation of the November 1989 events (which resulted in the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia) since it does not consider the events of November 17 and previous days to be satisfactorily clarified.

The congress continues tomorrow.

Approves Federative Establishment

LD0411154290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] The name of the Czechoslovak Communist Party will be retained following the current 18th Party Congress. This is the decision of the delegates today who approved new organizational rules. Their adoption means a break from the centralist party concept, and at the same time it introduces a new term: The Federation of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, and the Communist Party of Slovakia [Federace Komunisticke Strany Cech a Moravy, a Komunisticke Strany Slovenska]

The federation is being formed from below, following a voluntary decision made by the congresses of the autonomous republican parties. The parties involved can leave the federation in the same way. The federation is open to other parties, movements, and organizations which show interest in joining the federation, if the program guidelines do not contradict the program statement of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. The Congress also ended the activity of the previous Central Committee. As of today neither the post of the CPCZ chairman nor the post of the Party Central Committee first secretary will exist.

On the federal level, the CPCZ will be represented by a 24-member federal council headed by a chairman and first deputy chairman. For the first one-year term Pavol Kanis was elected chairman of the federal council, and Miroslav Grebenicek became the first deputy chairman.

Criticizes Economic Reform Plans

LD0411200890 Prague CTK in English 1743 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 4 (CTK)—New Chairman of the Federal Council of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Pavol Kanis told journalists here tonight that the biggest success of the 18th congress of the party [November 3-4] is the federalization of the party.

Pavol Kanis from the Communist Party of Slovakia-Party of the Democratic Left, and Miroslav Grebenicek from the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia had been elected by their parties to head the federal party. Under the party organizational order, they are to alternate at the head of the party every other year.

It was up to the congress to decide who of them will be the first, however, before that, Miroslav Grebenicek issued a written statement explaining why he and Kanis agreed that the first will stand at the head of the party in the first year. Grebenicek, who will be the first deputy chairman of the Federal Council, said his decision was influenced by the current situation in Czechoslovakia, the practical experience of Pavel Kanis in party work, and the fact that after November 1989 (when the Communist Party was deposed from the leading position in society) the party was headed by two Czech communists—Ladislav Adamec (chairman) and Vasil Mohorita (first secretary). The congress approved the Kanis-Grebenicek agreement.

Chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Jiri Svoboda and Chairman of the Slovak Communist Party-Party of the Democratic Left Peter Weiss will be deputy chairmen. The Federal Council of the party will consist of 12 representatives of the Czech party and 12 representatives of the Slovak party. They will be in office for two years. The congress abolished the Central Committee.

Listing the party's major tasks, Kanis mentioned support for coexistence of the Czechs and Slovaks in the Czechoslovak federation, restoration of society's confidence in the Communist Party and ensurance of cohesion within the party.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is ready to cooperate with other left-orientated political parties, Kanis said and pointed out that the program documents of the party and the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, for instance, contain a number of identical ideas. Further development will bring these two parties closer to one another, he said.

The congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia approved a number of documents which voice criticism of the government blueprint for economic reform.

According to the Communists, the reform will generate sizable unemployment and result in huge property differentiation between individuals and groups of the population. Inherent in it is the possibility that Czechoslovakia will lose sovereignty over its national wealth, natural sources and economic activity, and that cultural and national traditions will be lost as well.

The Communists view the right to work as part of man's fundamental rights. Privatization, price deregulation and cooperation with the foreign capital must be used "for redressing what is ill and for phasing out what is not viable, and not for liquidation of everything that has been created thus far".

The national wealth should be transferred to the hands of those who create and multiply it, and priority should not be given to those who one time owned some part of this wealth or who can afford to buy it for foreign currency, the Communists believe.

In its program statement, the party rejects any concept of change of the social set-up and preservation of abnormal social conditions by means of use of force in any form. It rejects monopoly power of anybody in society and voices the view that political and social discords can be solved only in a democratic competition of ideas and views.

The goals of the party is building a society of democratic socialism. It proceeds from socialist theories—from Marx up to the present Socialist International.

The Federation of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the Communist Party of Slovakia-Party of the Democratic Left will be open to other parties, movements and organizations and will seek its integration in a grouping of left-wing parties.

In the foreign political sphere, the party rejects any one-sided orientation of the state. According to it, Czechoslovakia could become a bridge between the integrating Western Europe and Eastern European, especially Slavonic countries. Czechoslovakia could help the opening of the USSR to Europe and the world, and thanks to its positions in the Soviet market and to its knowledge of the mentality of the "Soviet soul" it could economically profit from it.

The Communists favour transition from the system of military-political blocs to a new system of all-European security, the documents said.

The congress did not meet the requests of Milos Jakes, Bohuslav Chnoupek, Mikulas Beno and other former Communist leaders for revision of the decision on their expulsion from the party. They were expelled last December and some of them at the beginning of this year.

Horn Addresses Letter to Supreme Soviet

LD0211180590 Budapest MTI in English 1713 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 2 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly, has addressed a letter to Aleksandr Dzasokhov, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet in the Soviet Union.

"The unfavourable occurrences which have come to characterise Hungarian-Soviet relations in the past months fill me with anxiety. Tension is straining our relations, and serious irregularities have undermined economic relations. The large-scale cut-backs in Soviet petroleum, electric energy and raw material deliveries, the uncertainty of agreed obligations being fulfilled, and the habit of tearing up contracts, cause huge damage to the already crisis-ridden Hungarian economy," Mr Horn wrote.

He went on to state that the causes for the frayed relations do not simply arise from the acute economic problems facing the Soviet Union, but spring from political sources too. The Hungarian politician considers the two, lengthy reports contained in October PRAVDA's to be such cases. Acording to the articles, anti-Soviet and anti-Russian sentiments are on the loose in Hungary, and the current Soviet leadership is blamed for all Hungary's problems.

Quite to the contrary, the Hungarian parliament, and responsible political forces, have more than once gone out of their way to safeguard and intensify good neighbourly relations based on mutual respect, confidence and interests, and constructive Hungarian-Soviet cooperation. These efforts are also evident in the inclinations of the government. All in all, striving towards harmonious relations typifies Hungarian society.

In his letter, Mr Horn asks his partner to do his best in the Supreme Soviet, and with the Soviet Government, to eliminate the misunderstandings, and tensions, and to encourage the Soviets to fully meet their agreed delivery obligations. Moreover, the Hungarians are willing to do all that needs to be done to avoid the current upset in Hungarian-Soviet relations.

Official on Expected Soviet Oil Deliveries

LD0211181190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Summary] "It appears that Hungary will not have crude oil supply difficulties until the end of the year, despite storage problems". This was said by Lajos Berenyi, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, who based his statement on the results of his negotiations in Moscow over several days.

"In Moscow he was told that the Soviet Union will deliver the promised 800,000-850,000 tonnes of crude oil in the remaining two months this year. True, out of this it will sell only 286,000 tonnes for rubles; 300,000 tonnes will be for convertible currency. We will obtain the rest directly from Bashkiria. Although there is no signed contract for this yet, negotiations are proceeding in a promising way".

Regarding the future, "no concrete promises have yet been made," but "it may be presumed with certainty that Soviet Union will deliver less than it did this year" and Hungary will get crude oil only for convertible currency or Hungarian goods.

"The issue of the freeze on the immediate Soviet payment for Hungarian export deliveries which was introduced recently was also raised. The measure affects Soviet firms as adversely as Hungarian ones; therefore, the measure has been reviewed and it is expected that by Monday the previous payment system will be reinstituted—albeit only until the end of the year because starting 1 January this payment system will cease."

Federation of Hungarian Croatians Holds Congress

LD0411184590 Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 3 (MTI)—The one-year-old Federation of Hungarian Croatians held its first nationwide congress in Szombathely on November 2-3.

The delegates expressed the demand for the groups of Croatians living in different parts of the country to become independent. The federation's statute was amended to the effect that their groups would be granted autonomy, and sections of technical nature would assist the leaders of the 90,000 ethnic Croatians.

The national administrative centre will remain in Budapest, with regional centres operating in Szombathely, Pecs, Zala, Somogy and Bacska.

On the second day, the conference was attended by Zdravko Mrsic, foreign minister of the Croatian Republic. Speaking on behalf of the Croatian parliament, Djuro Vidmarovic said they expected the Hungarian Government to consult the Croatians before deciding on matters concerning them. At the same time, he drew attention to the importance of achieving a consensus.

Gyorgy Frankovics, national president of Federation of Hungarian Croatians, was confirmed in his position at the conference.

Government Spokesman Holds News Conference

LD0211133390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Report on news conference by government spokesman Balasz Laszlo on 2 November after the 1 November National Assembly session in Budapest]

[Text] Now a few details about the laws still to be created by the end of the year: Regarding budget reform, they wish to abolish the liquidation, refloating, and tourism funds, just as the role of youth, health protection, and sport funds will be taken over by different organizations. It would also be good to pass the concession law this year.

They also wish to solve the problem of the housing mortgage interests, because the advantegous rate weighs heavily on the budget, and it hardly has any social role anymore. A decision was not made because they wish to ask a few questions of the constitutional court first, and, following the reply, they will seek the opinion of the social partners.

For the time being, there are two variations being contemplated: One stipulates that the housing [mortgage] interest be raised to 15 percent, with the monthly repayment only allowed to grow by 1,500 forints at the most. The other idea is that half of the credit would be remitted, but full bank interests would be charged on the remaining parts. The decision will have to wait for the time being, because the social partner will also have a say in it.

In the proposal by the minister of culture and public education, prepared with the student councils, it was decided that part of next year's grant increasing funds will be brought forward; therefore, within this year, the grant per capita will increase from 3,150 forints to 3,500 forints.

Opposition Leaders on Grand Coalition Theory

AU0511092290 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 31 Oct 90 p 3

["(Desi)"-signed interviews with Ivan Peto and Viktor Orban, parliamentary faction leaders of the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats, respectively; place and date not given: "What Are the Chances of a Grand Coalition?"; first two paragraphs are MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Text] The Hungarian Government has been caught in the crossfire of criticism since the events of this weekend. How do the representatives of individual parties visualize the future of the Antall cabinet?

First, we asked Ivan Peto if he thought that the establishment of a grand coalition was a realistic possibility, and if the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] would be prepared to take part in such a coalition.

[Peto] The SZDSZ believes that the government should be restructured, but we cannot exercise a direct influence in this matter. We have not considered the idea of a grand coalition, and such an option is absolutely unrealistic at this point. As far as the government's restructuring is concerned, there are several possibilities. Even before this weekend's crisis, we stated that both reshuffles and the departure of some parties from the coalition were possible options.

[Desi] Are you referring to a departure of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP]?

[Peto] That is one option among many. I do not know how far the FKgP has advanced in solving the land issue, but the government has not been strengthened by such great differences of opinion within the coalition.

[Desi] Do you think that, among the current opposition parties, the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] may possibly join the government?

[Peto] It seems that the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] sees the FIDESZ as the most suitable opposition party with which it could establish some sort of closer link. Indeed, according to elementary parliamentary norms, such a critical situation requires that the government contact the opposition. The government, however, has only fulfilled this requirement in the case of the FIDESZ. Furthermore, every manifestation of the MDF shows that the Forum sees the FIDESZ as a party which differs from the SZDSZ.

[Desi] Since his withdrawal from the leadership of the parliamentary faction of the SZDSZ, Peter Tolgyessy has not appeared in public. There are rumors that he may have left the party.

[Peto] The rumors are totally unfounded. During the difficult weekend, Peter Tolgyessy interrupted his vacation to take part in our meetings with the other SZDSZ leaders.

[Desi] Viktor Orban, in light of Prime Minister Antall's parliamentary speech on the afternoon of 30 October, how do you view the coalition's situation?

[Orban] I found as many as three encouraging momentums in Antall's speech. First, in the presence of the prime minister, the government is starting to behave like a government. This allows us to hope that the cabinet will function properly when Antall recovers. Second, it was said that the government would draw its lessons from the events that had taken place. That is indispensable if the government does not want similar demonstrations to take place on a regular basis. Third, the behavior of the MDF toward the opposition has visibly changed. At the time of the campaign, the MDF still claimed that there was a united center-left opposition. This time, the prime minister said that he knew that the opposition was made up of three parties. As far as the government's stability is concerned, there is no reason why this coalition should come apart. The government will survive these events. There will probably be reshuffles, but that decision belongs to the prime minister.

[Desi] Nowadays, the question often arises whether the FIDESZ will join the government.

[Orban] This question has only been raised among journalists and ourselves. The MDF and the FIDESZ have not negotiated this issue. Perhaps these rumors regularly emerge because we do not behave with the MDF like the other opposition parties do. This was also tangible during the critical days. We specifically asked our members to help wherever they could, and not to take sides. As is fitting for a constitutional party, we tried to make sure that this popular movement retired within the confines of the Constitution. That was our only possible standpoint, because we did not want to topple the government. We stressed that the situation that had arisen needed to be solved through compromises, and without the use of force.

[Desi] On Monday 29 October, you criticized the government in a particularly sharp way, and on Tuesday 30 October, you greeted Jozsef Antall in a strikingly friendly way.

[Orban] It is true that I criticized the government in a sharp tone; I also criticized some of the opposition parties, and the strikers. That is a different question, and the press forgot about that. I wished Jozsef Antall a speedy recovery, and I said that I hoped that my speech on Monday had not caused a deterioration of his health. Antall replied that we had already discussed a long time ago how such interpellations should be assessed.

Boross on 'Activated' Intelligence Services

LD0311155190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Interview with Minister Without Portfolio Peter Boross in charge of national security, by Agnes Papp; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] MTI has published some information according to which various intelligence services have activated their operations in Hungary. Allegedly, it is not against our country. The aim of the aforementioned firms is to learn as much as possible about Central and Eastern Europe. Our country seems an ideal place for this. Agnes Papp interviews Minister Withour Portfolio Peter Boross, who is in charge of national security.

[Papp] The MTI correspondent, quoting a national security source, has reported that intelligence agents of opposite interests are working in Hungary, so far, at least, not against our country. What is the basis, the background, of this news?

[Boross] An open country, at the border of which traffic relations are completely different from those earlier, an economy ready to open and more or less opened already—that is, an international motion—always evokes the attention of intelligence services. For this reason, there is such activity in Hungary, perhaps more than earlier, but there really exists no danger which would cause any particular worries. Hungarian counterintelligence is aware of its task relating to this and is operating successfully.

[Papp] It is also involved in this news that the reason why these intelligence agents meet in Hungary is that they find appropriate information sources about all of Central and Eastern Europe.

[Boross] Hungarian intelligence is in contact with the intelligence services of various countries. There is exchange of goods—that is, exchange of news—at the international market of intelligence. This is an entirely legal and normal practice. Hungarian intelligence is trying to extend such connections more and more.

[Papp] Does this mean that we are giving out information about other countries?

[Boross] We are not giving out any information, but information can be obtained in Hungary. The motion of intelligence is always free in an open country.

Council Chairman on 28 Oct Strike Negotiations

AU0511094990 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Oct 90 pp 1, 5

["(L.M.)"-signed interview with Istvan Orban, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Economic Chamber, managing director of the Egis firm, and present chairman of the Interest Coordination Council; place and date not given: "I Have No Political Ambitions"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] The general public came to know Dr. Istvan Orban on 28 October, when he chaired the Interest Coordination Council's session with the wisdom of a statesman. Orban was appointed as chairman of the Egis firm eight years ago. In 1985, the newly formed company council elected him into his office, and, since then, he has "only" survived and been reelected at three new elections—in December 1989, July 1990, and September 1990 respectively. [passage omitted]

[Orban] On Sunday morning, 28 October, I thought to myself that our biggest loss would be if the country were to not function. After a while, one stops counting the money lost and the damage caused by a halting of the economy. I left home thinking that I would not leave the negotiating table until we reached an agreement, or until we were guaranteed that work would begin again on Monday, 29 October.

[NEPSZABADSAG] To what do you attribute the compromise?

[Orban] One can only politicize in a country which is functioning; I think that this is self-evident. During the course of our negotiations, therefore, our constant goal was to allow work to begin again on Monday morning. At the same time, at the age of 51, I am experiencing the fifth change in Hungary's coat of arms. I have had enough of this. On Friday morning, 26 October, when people were walking across the Budapest bridges, I had a feeling of deja vu. Perhaps the time had come to work peacefully.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The agreement reached through the Interest Coordination Council probably marks the beginning of a new era in Hungary's economy. What do you think our future looks like?

[Orban] I see this weekend as a catharsis for which we paid a high price, but I am optimistic. I hope that, from now on, I will not only hear the sound of sirens from the government. At the same time, I think that if we take the Eastern European milieu into account, it becomes evident that Hungary did not recently start developing its market economy. We are already more mature, given that we experienced 1968 in Hungary! This is a functioning economy; the only problem is that we have the wrong parameters, and that we are sometimes forced to work in a badly planned and expensive way. A certain amount of professionalism would, of course, come in handy for our corrective measures.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Employers and employees were incredibly united on Sunday, 28 October. Why were they so united?

[Orban] Perhaps they were so united because it was so incredibly clear that relations could only exist between the two sides if there was work. Please believe us at long last: We were not united through some kind of antigovernment stance!

MSZDP 'Apparently' Reelects Petrosovits

LD0411195590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Our reporter Peter Szoerenyi is at the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [MSZDP] Congress. Are there any new developments?

[Szoerenyi] Yes, there are. Apparently, Anna Petrasovits is to remain chairwoman of the MSZDP. I say apparently, because so far they have only been able to count 231 votes, whereas yesterday 521 delegates were registered. They decided, however, that this vote is valid after all because at 1700 there were 276 delegates in the hall, and at that time there were still enough delegates in the hall who regarded the congress as legitimate. In this case, Anna Petrasovits has been elected, according to their interpretation here. That is all I can say.

FIDESZ Will Hold Next Congress 8-9 Dec

LD0511114490 Budapest MTI in English 1026 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 4 (MTI)—The Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] is to hold its next congress in Szeged from December 8-9, Tamas Deutsch, campaign chief and MP, announced after the two-day meeting of the party's national council in Debrecen.

Deutsch said that the congress agenda included the finalisation of party rules. He reported that the National Council qualified the Young Democrats' performance at the local elections as successful. Currently they are represented in 200 settlements, and 30 of their candidates were elected mayors, even in such large towns as Miskolc, Szeged, Szekesfehervar of Nyiregyhaza.

The Federation of Young Democrats is successful because it operates in the least party-like manner among the parties, added Viktor Orban, head of the party's parliamentary group. He said they were planning to set up a nationwide public administration system, and advisory committees to assist local governments in towns and villages.

Finance Secretary Holds Budget Briefing

LD0211145890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Report on Hungarian budget "background briefing" by State Secretary Peter Kiraly in the Finance Ministry on 2 November]

[Text] It can be said with great probability that the state budget deficit will be the originally approved amount—that is, it will not exceed 10-14 billion forints.

Overall, divergence from the plan is greater regarding outlays, and in the case of revenues, the balance can be maintained despite much greater fluctuations. Profit increases can be expected only in domestic and foreign trade; however, profits stagnated due to the continuing recession and the decrease in production.

Significant profit-reducing factors include: untapped resources, rising fuel costs, the increasing outflow of wages, the drought, and the decrease in exports in rouble relations.

These are the statistics. The financial balance of the final two months, however, might be considerably affected by many uncertain factors, Peter Kiraly said. Because the final day for paying the enterprise tax is 28 December, this will be the day when the end-of-the-year budget situation will emerge.

We have every hope that we can fulfill our obligations to international financial institutions.

Radio Broadcasts 2d 'Election Studio' Program

LD0211150290

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1125 GMT on 2 November broadcasts its second regularly scheduled "Election Studio" program on the run-up to Poland's presidential elections. The program is 18 minutes long.

Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's representative begins the program by announcing that the prime minister will not campaign on All Souls' Day.

Roman Bartoszcze, candidate from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], and Professor Rafal Krawczyk, head of Bartoszcze's team of advisers, comment on yesterday's remarks on Polish television by Professor Jeffrey Sachs, American adviser to the Polish Government.

Leszek Moczulski, from the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], reviews Polish history since last year's elections. He concludes that Polish society still has no say in political decisions.

Stanislaw Tyminski, independent candidate, speaks about his experiences as a farmer. He stresses the need to introduce changes to Polish agriculture.

Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, Social Democratic Party candidate, speaks on the lack of tolerance for people holding different political views.

Lech Walesa's slot begins with recorded excerpts from one of his rallies. Jadwiga Staniszkis, a sociologist, follows speaking on different kinds of populism, which Walesa is often accused of, and about Walesa's character, views, and political aims.

Walesa Makes Stop, Addresses 10,000 in Tarnow

LD0311201290 Warsaw PAP in English 1626 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov—Presidential candidate Lech Walesa paid a visit today to the Tarnow voivodship, south-eastern Poland. He was the star performer answering several dozen questions at a 10,000-strong rally held in Tarnow's old town square. Walesa said that Solidarity had opened the door to freedom for Poland but not all was well in free Poland yet. That was the reason why he was forced to take the initiative and he now relies on society to support him in his actions.

As a president elected by the people, said the Solidarity leader, I would like to make sure that the changes go the right way. I shall not allow a new monopoly to be established, of Solidarity this time, he added, as it is contradictory to the democracy and pluralism for which I have been fighting.

In the course of his stay in the Tarnow region, Walesa met Solidarity members among workers at Debica, east of Tarnow, with Tarnow businessmen as well as with Professor Jozef Zycinski, the bishop nominee to the Tarnow diocese who is going to be initiated into his office this coming Sunday [4 November]. Lech Walesa visited also the village of Greboszow, where a famous folk activist Jakub Bojko and Major Henryk Sucharski, the commander of the WW2 heroic defence of the Westerplatte military outpost.

Walesa also made his way to Wierzchoslawice, where he paid homage to Poland's three-time prime minister Wincenty Witos by laying flower his grave.

Mazowiecki Addresses Szczecin Election Rally

LD0411200690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Report on meeting with Tadeusz Mazowiecki at preelection rally in Szczecin on 4 November—italicized passages recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We begin our news with a report from Szczecin.

[Unidentified reporter] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki began his visit to Szczecin today with a meeting with the self-government Sejmik [local government meeting].

[Mazowiecki] *There was an officially declared friendship with the GDR, our western neighbor, and there was also a true estrangement.*

[Reporter] Under discussion were Polish-German relations above all. A new factor—the mention of evacuation of soviet troops from beyond our western border.

[Mazowiecki] *Regarding withdrawal of Soviet troops from GDR territory, transit through Poland is envisaged. we must, and we will, put the matter very clearly, that Poland will incur costs connected with this, and Poland must not incur such costs.*

[Reporter] There was also no shortage of concrete complaints addressed to the electoral committee of Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

[Unidentified speaker] *You should go to WPKM [Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise], Mr. Prime Minister; they recently were on strike, and tell them why 100 billion [currency not specified] is being spent on the electoral campaign, and there is not enough money for new buses. You should also go to the shipyard, where people are saying more and more frequently that life was better when the communists were in power.*

[Mazowiecki] *If you are saying that 100 billion are spent on the presidential campaign, yes, it is true; but I think this is not a complaint against me; I was not the one who caused such a campaign, or ordered it to be held. [passage indistinct]*

[Voice speaking through a loudspeaker] *The prime minister will now say a few sentences to the residents of Szczecin; Mr. Prime Minister, go ahead.*

[Mazowiecki] *Poland, which is wanted by us all, is the Poland in which we want to live and work, where one has the feeling of the future, security, and safety. What is needed is consistency, energy, and drive; if you support me, then I shall keep my word.*

[Announcer] These were excerpts from the meeting of Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the preelection rally with the residents of Szczecin.

Discusses Overcoming European Division

LD0411204890 Warsaw PAP in English 2003 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Szczecin, 4 Nov—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki kicked off his presidential campaign in Szczecin today by delivering an address on "The Szczecin Voivodship Following Germany's Unification" to the region's authorities. Following are some guidelines of his address:

- Local governments will be considerably important for future contacts with Germany. In past official contacts with East Germany, friendship was proclaimed while in reality relations were cool and distant. Official inter-state friendship did not lead to friendship between our societies.

- Our current situation in Europe is characterized by location between a new, powerful German state and the Soviet Union in which very significant changes are taking place. If Poland remains a stable country, it could play an important role in the new European structure.

- We must set for ourselves the task of overcoming in 10 years the division of Europe (A) - The rich one, from Europe (B) - The poor one.

- The Polish transformations have contributed to the unification of Germany. We want the Germans to bear this in mind.

- Poland should be open to capital from all countries.

Replying to one of the questions, Mazowiecki stated that the Soviet tropos stationed in Poland should leave till the end of 1991. "The withdrawal of soviet troops from former East Germany will be burdensome for Poland but our country should not sustain losses because of this," said he.

Mazowiecki held a meeting witdh Szczecin's university and high school students at the "Cosmos" movie theatre.

The prime minister was also hosted by Szczecin's bishops Jan Galecki and Stanislaw Stefanek. He also met with the Szczecin medical community and families of sailors and fishermen at sea.

Court Dismisses Morawiecki Appeal on Candidacy

LD0211224790 Warsaw PAP in English 2205 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Nov—The Supreme Court today dismissed an appeal by the plenipotentiary of Kornel Morawiecki against the State Election Commission's resolution which refused the registration of Morawiecki as a presidential candidate. The court said Morawiecki has failed to provide proof of having collected an alleged 102 thousands signatures for the registration.

An extra counting of the signatures by the court revealed that Morawiecki drew support from little more than 72 thousand people, which is even fewer than established by the State Election Commission.

In tune with the electoral proceedings a person could have been registered as presidential candidate after having collected 100 thousand signatures.

Preparations Made for Election Day Polling

AU0311212890 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Oct 90 p 3

["B.Dr."-signed report: "Elections Results"]

[Text] It may happen that when we are leaving our polling station on 25 November, we shall be approached by a campaigner who will ask us to complete another form and put it into another receptacle. For the first time in Poland there is hope to organize a nationwide poll at several hundred such canvassing points—selected at random—and situated outside polling stations. This poll is being organized jointly by the Polish Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP], and the German INFAS organization. OBOP is to provide the manpower and INFAS from Bonn will provide the computer hardware, its own proven system of selecting polling stations, and computer software graphics. Polish television will provide a central election studio which will broadcast the latest election swings and predictions.

The form that electors will be asked to complete will have questions on both sides. On one side there will be a copy of the ballot paper and voters will be asked to indicate the candidate they have voted for. The other side will contain general questions about the social and demographic background of the voter.

The information from the cards will be transmitted to a central point at television headquarters where it will be entered into a computer and processed. Television will then broadcast the ongoing results of the voting as it takes place throughout the day. It will also break the information down into regional, age-group, and social voting patterns, and so forth. We shall be able to see who is winning and who is losing; who is winning in Slask or on the coast; and who is the candidate that women or young voters prefer.

After the close of voting and closure of the voting stations, the pollsters will wait until the local votes are counted by the election commissions and they will then convey this information back to the election studio. We shall then have a grand finale.

INFAS, the world-famous German public opinion research center has been organizing election research polls for over 25 years in the FRG. Recently, it was involved in election research polls during the elections held in the former GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. INFAS is particularly interested in the upcoming presidential elections in Poland, because both main candidates, Walesa and Mazowiecki, are personalities that attract a lot of international interest. Many foreign television companies will want to purchase the professionally produced and computer aided television report on the election. Austrian television and the ARD [German] television channel have already applied for rights. The BBC is in the process of negotiating these.

Mazowiecki, Walesa Post-Election Relations Viewed

AU0511085690 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Oct 90 p 3

[Anatol Lawina commentary: "The Aftermath"]

[Text] As predicted, the election campaign staffs have begun their activity in a frantic manner. There are many reasons why this is so. The most important is the state of society. Polish society has split into those who fear continuation and stability and those who fear acceleration and instability. The anxiety of the campaign staffs is visible in their disputes over television and radio airtime and newspaper space—as if society will be swung to vote one way or other by what it reads in the papers or hears on television. Nobody can deny that the race is between two favorites, namely, Mazowiecki and Walesa. Today, it is the anxiety about what will happen after the elections that is of primary importance for the elector. Not promises or programs, but the election aftermath is the most important issue for Poland and its society.

One can predict with some certainty that the future president will get to office by a narrow majority of say five percent over his rival. The threat to our fragile democracy does not come from who is elected, but from how the forces that support the main contenders behave afterwards. The campaign staffs bear greater responsibility than they would bear in normal conditions. It is not just a question of securing victory for "our candidate." The real political conflict will be on the shape and method of action of the opposition. For this reason, the election campaign must not cause an unbridgeable rift between the main political forces. With the expected narrow margins of victory for the successful candidate, the opposing forces must be compelled to cooperate. The general public will demand this. The victorious candidate will find himself in a very difficult position. The lack of party structures and proven forms of pressure on the ruling authorities will give rise to a temptation to reject opposition demands, eliminating it from participating in and thus having any responsibility for the state. It might happen that the new president is quickly abandoned by the forces that supported him, because neither Mazowiecki, nor Walesa are leaders of a political party, but mere symbols for the contest between the Center Accord and the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD]. The alignment of forces in the Sejm will change. For this reason, it could happen that the new prime minister will find it very difficult to form a government that has the backing of the Sejm.

In a democratic country faced by such difficulties as in Poland, the new president, having such a slim majority, must support the program of the losing side, but not to such extent that his own identity is threatened. His supporters, however, will be waiting for him to reward them by fulfilling their demands, hopes, and interests. That is why the question of the election aftermath has such significance for Poland. Some of the questions about the future have to be answered during the course of this election campaign by the candidates and their election campaign staffs. These questions are as follows:

—What is their view on the future opposition?

—What will be the aims and methods of this opposition?

—How do they envisage cooperation with the opposition and in what way will the opposition have any influence on policy and decisions?

If Mazowiecki wins, there is a great probability that the Walesa camp will be resentful, convinced that it lost solely because of media manipulation. The victors will be convinced that they have a mandate for their policies of continuity and stabilization. If Mazowiecki does not find a way to integrate the Walesa camp within the structures of power, if he does not find a way of rewarding and involving Walesa, then within two months we shall see a new and more acute political crisis. The fight for the Senate and Sejm will begin in earnest.

If Walesa wins, there is great danger that the Mazowiecki forces will refuse to participate in the new structures of power by refusing to "play ball" and will bide their time for the upcoming Sejm elections. This scenario will also lead to an acute crisis, which can be further aggravated by the destabilization in the economic sphere if Walesa tries to achieve tangible results through acceleration in a short space of time.

The only realistic way to avoid a crisis—regardless who is ultimately elected—is to secure an agreement between the forces behind the main contenders as soon as the election results are known. In order to secure such agreement people must think about such an agreement today. Such consensus will be difficult to reach, because the remaining forces will try to torpedo it, fearing a post-Solidarity alliance at the upcoming Sejm elections. Personal emotions and ambitions will play a very important part and the negative propaganda that is currently being generated by the opposing camps will exacerbate this element.

For me, the style of the present campaign and the emotions that have been generated are not so much a sign of a lack of political culture but "political myopia." The election campaign will finish, but the problems will remain. That is why it is important that the campaigning forces give a clear answer as to how they see the election aftermath.

Mazowiecki Seen as Better President Than Minister

AU0411180090 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 90 p 10

[Ewa Berberyusz commentary: "I Shall Keep My Eyes Open"]

[Text] When martial law was imposed, I found myself crying for the loss of democracy, not for "Solidarity." Brought up in two systems of totalitarian rule I thought it would be a nice if I were to die in a moderate form thereof. I was presented with a gift of 16 months of freedom. I felt free and a functionary could not arrest me on some pretext. I could pick up my passport without any trepidation and I relished the taste of being able to publish under a very mild form of censorship. On 13 December 1981, all this came to an end and I was left with just one desire, namely, to get away to freedom.

It was pure coincidence that I was able to confide these thoughts to Tadeusz Mazowiecki in an interview I had with him shortly after his release from internment and his words that "one could live with it," if one was free "inside" gave me hope. However, it is no coincidence that it is Tadeusz Mazowiecki's person and his manner—more than anyone else's—that today assures me of what I now call "citizen's rights" and of the very element that our older generation have a habit of summarizing as: "Seeing freedom again."

Mazowiecki will make a better president than prime minister. The features that are irritating in a prime minister, are more fitting in a president. For example, the prime minister's hesitation as he searches for the appropriate turn of phrase, could be interpreted as a certain sluggishness, whereas in a president this appears as deliberation. Apart from this, Mazowiecki has one particular quality, he cannot intentionally hurt anyone. The man does not possess a single ounce of aggression in him.

He uttered the very words I was searching for when he talked about "the dignity of the Polish Republic," as he described his concept of the Presidency. He personifies this dignity. Not only I think so. Many people whom I have asked think so too. Today, everyone is conducting a small opinion poll among his friends. Mazowiecki is a firm favorite for (surprise, surprise!) "simple people" as they spontaneously bestow this quality of dignity on the presidential office. Walesa seems to be supported by frustrated intellectuals, the dissatisfied, and the "do not knows" (please forgive the oversimplification). These people are not following the campaign and do not really know what Walesa is saying. They have made their minds up: "Let Walesa come and bring some order."

I would be afraid of a Walesa in the presidential office, because I fear "cleanup campaigns." I have a deep suspicion that "Solidarity" did not split because of any great desire for pluralism, but because of its chairman's unbridled ambition. This does not mean that I am oblivious to the mistakes made by the other side. Being partisan implies agitation on behalf of that side. I consider our voters to be sufficiently mature and I have no desire to lecture them.

I am a convinced nonparty person, but at the same time I am intensely interested in the behavior of the person whom I support for the highest office of state. As a professional journalist I am keeping and I intend to keep a watchful eye on this person. That is my approach to this profession.

Economic Committee Approves Reform Program

AU0411175590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 90 p 3

["Kana"-signed report: "Economic Restructuring—Regional Changes"]

[Text] The restructuring of the economy will begin with three voivodships; Walbrzych, Katowice, and Lodz. Economic restructuring projects will be worked out in the regions. The state treasury will contribute to, but will not be the only source of finance for these regional programs.

On Tuesday [30 October], the Council of Ministers Economic Committee accepted the Central Planning Office's program for regional restructuring of the economy. We will not be able to prevent the closure of some factories and the opening of other units and this will entail a breakdown of our existing exports, limited internal demand, and the collapse of many enterprises, stated Andrzej Pyszkowski, head of the program team.

The authors of the program, rejected the plan of a centrally coordinated program of economic reform. The restructuring operation will be done on a regional scale, will be tailored to the specific local conditions, will and utilize the finance that the region can raise. The government will support these initiatives (the collection and dissemination of information) and their implementation. A special budget reserve is to be created for these purposes in 1991. This fund will not be the basic source of funding for these regional projects, but is intended to supplement them.

Restructuring is not the answer for unemployment. On the contrary, it will accompany it as another factor of the price that has to be paid for the economic reforms. It is very important that this cost does not exceed society's tolerance level and does not block the proposed changes. That is why an additional feature of the program that was accepted by the Economic Committee consists of alleviating the social costs of the effects of restructuring.

Three regions have been selected to undergo the process. They are: Walbrzych (basin of unprofitable coal mines); Katowice (concentration of heavy industry—"a bomb with a delayed time fuse"); and Lodz (textile industry center which is simply marking time after the collapse of exports to the first payment area and the fall in internal demand).

Independent of this decision, two other regions of deepening recession were also singled out, namely, the northeastern macro-region (has the highest unemployment and fewest job offers) and the southeastern macro-region (large armaments centers that have provided a traditional source of additional employment for the small-farm peasant population). The situation here is the most difficult, states Andrzej Pyszkowski. The factories have lost their main purchaser in the first payment area and the peasants that are returning to their two or three hectare farms only conceal the true extent of industrial unemployment, exchanging it for hidden agricultural unemployment.

Deputy on Investigation of Interior Ministry Deeds

AU0511084990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Oct 90 p 3

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Jan Rokita by Ewa Szemplinska; place and date not given: "Investigations Under Special Control"]

[Excerpts] [Szemplinska] Society was very pleased when the Commission for Investigating Interior Ministry Activity After 13 December 1981, chaired by you, was formed in August 1989.

[Rokita] That is because it seemed that only this commission would be capable of providing an objective assessment of the legality or illegality of the Interior Ministry's work. For obvious reasons, neither parliament nor the general public had any faith in the judiciary or prosecutor's office at the time, to say nothing of the ministry itself, which had a bad name. That is why we were entrusted with the enormous task of investigating 94 deaths, suspected to be the handiwork of the Interior Ministry. This first list of 94 cases of death was prepared by the Helsinki Committee, but obviously the matter did not end there. We began to receive hundreds of requests to examine other cases, including 100 deaths in mysterious and unexplained circumstances. Thus, the 23-man commission was faced with the task of establishing whether or not Interior Ministry personnel had been responsible for these 200 cases.

[Szemplinska] What were the complaints about, and in how many cases do you think the commission will actually intervene?

[Rokita] We have received applications to examine about 300 cases involving everything from beatings, to economic scandals, right up to militiamen beating their wives. That is a very broad spectrum of work, understandable because this is the first institution ever to be formed that checks the work of the Interior Ministry, and an extraparliamentary one at that.

[Szemplinska] The commission only as 23 people. What criteria have you adopted for investigating cases?

[Rokita] Absolute priority goes to cases of unexplained homicide, because that was the commission's basic task. We have handed other cases to other bodies whose purpose is to examine them, i.e. the Supreme Chamber of Control, the Prosecutor's Office, and the police. [passage omitted]

[Szemplinska] Have there been any occurrences where someone was afraid to report a case for a long time and has only done so now?

[Rokita] No. Instead, we are facing an avalanche of cases, some of which, after a preliminary perusal, do not merit any further investigation. I think the time of fear is over, and that an uneasy situation has even appeared, where unpopular institutions like the Interior Ministry can be attacked with impunity. That is becoming a ploy in the election campaign. But there is something even more disturbing. I see how former high-ranking Department Four officials from the Interior Ministry are being turned into television personalities. And some journalists have unconsciously done a lot to restore the good name of people like the killers of Father Popieluszko. These people have been given room in the press, sometimes such anticommunist publications as the Krakow CZAS, in order to throw mud at everyone except themselves. I am also highly critical of the spectacular gestures made by people in authority, e.g clergymen, suggesting that Secret Service murderers like Adam Pietruszka have undergone a metamorphosis and are now unblemished. I know the arguments Pietruszka uses in his defense, but I have also heard reports whereby Department Four discussed not just how to kill Father Popieluszko, but also how to kill the distinguished peasant activist Jozef Teliga, also an idea of Pietruszka's. I think the Department Four officials who have been tried and sentenced are all the time waging a very skillful propaganda campaign with the general public, but are permanently silent about the most important matters, e.g. the Soviet context of the Popieluszko killing.

Warsaw Military Chief Urges Army Reorganization

LD0411204290 Warsaw PAP in English 1929 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Nov—The organization of the Armed Forces in Poland needs to be re-modelled as in the present situation one must not exclude a potential threat either from the East or from the West, told PAP General

Leon Komornicki who had been recently appointed commander-in-chief of the Warsaw military district.

The district I command, he said, will undergo transformations and the importance of the Armed Forces stationed in the eastern part of the state is going to be appreciated.

But first of all, said the general, we need to formulate a new defensive doctrine.

It is a job for the politicians who must define different kinds of existing and potential threats as well as methods of their neutralization.

The army can only prognosticate military aspects, being aware of the strategies, potential, structures and capabilities of foreign armed forces.

As long as such a doctrine is not established and as long as the tasks facing the army are not defined on the basis of this docrine, we cannot set up new structures or redeploy forces as it might prove erroneous or expose the army and the country's economy to huge losses, argued General Leon Komornicki.

Solidarity Miners Stage Warning Strike

LD0511100190 Warsaw PAP in English 0753 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Katowice, 5 Nov—A warning strike organized by the Solidarity Union of Miners was held in hard coal mines between 6:00 and 8:00 hrs this morning.

The strike was caused by miners' dissatisfaction over governent solutions concerning pay standardization and worsening economic conditions of mines and plants providing them with services.

The warning strike was proclaimed in the tune with earlier announcements when the government side did not respond to the National Mining Committee's readiness to start another round of negotiations concerning postulates put forward by the miners' Solidarity

Mazowiecki Stresses Good Relations With Germany

LD0311230190 Warsaw PAP in English 1738 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov—We want good neighbourly relations with Germany, intensive cooperation built on the foundation of the community of interests, said Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in his interview carried by the "GLOS SZCZECINSKI" daily today.

The interview focussed on Polish-German cooperation and the programme of the upcoming meeting between Poland's premier and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl "We want to build the community of interests between our nations while basing them on ever better understanding and deeper mutual knowledge. I attach great significance to this meeting. During a sincere private conversation we shall have an occasion to discuss the whole of Polish-German relations," the daily quoted Mazowiecki as saying.

Former GDR Citizens Permitted Visa-Free Travel

LD0211180690 Warsaw PAP in English 1648 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Nov—In view of the fact that the German Government intends to lift by the end of this year the visa obligation for Poles travelling to Germany, Poland's minister for foreign affairs has resolved to extend the opportunity of visaless travel to Poland for residents of the former German Democratic Republic up to December 31st this year.

When reaching this decision the foreign minister has been guided by the belief that Polish-German talks are going to be held in that period, as a result of which both Poles and Germans will be completely free of the visa obligation.

The present decision is a gesture of good will on the part of the Polish Government prior to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's meeting with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

It confirms Poland's determined efforts to establish favourable conditions for good-neighbourly relations and cooperation in the spirit of common interests of Poland and Germany.

University Square Demonstrations Continue 2 Nov

AU0211201390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1848 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/990—Friday, November 2, at about 1400 [1200 GMT] the University Square was taken hold of again by a relatively great number of demonstrators, most of them young people.

Several participants in this protest action told a "ROMPRES" reporter that the rally was spontaneous, was not staged by a political party or any other organization.

Slogans were chanted against the government, against communism, against President Ion Iliescu.

At about 1700 [1500 GMT], part of the demonstrators went to Victoria Square and, discontented with the program of price liberalisation, asked the government to resign.

Police forces did not intervene.

Traffic Still Blocked

AU0211212190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2037 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—Traffic was still blocked in the University Square in Bucharest around 2100 [1900 GMT]. The number of demonstrators was visibly smaller, not more than a few hundreds. Price liberalization was discussed in groups. No shouting against the government or the Presidency was reported at that time.

Situation Continues 3 Nov

AU0311160090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1547 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—On the plateau in front of "Ion Mincu" Institute of Architecture, Saturday, 3 November, around noon, about 200 people were discussing, in groups, without causing incidents. They were condemning the government's decision to liberalize prices and its consequences on the common citizen's living standard.

Road and pedestrian traffic were normal, under the supervision of police patrols.

By noon some three hundred persons blocked road traffic in Bucharest's University Square. Small scattered groups, largely made up of Romanies and teenagers, were caught up in heated talk revolving around their demand for the resignation of the government and of the president of the country.

At about 3:15 p.m. [1315 GMT] a group of demonstrators left University Square heading for the Government Headquarters.

5,000 Protest Price Increases

AU0311193490 Paris AFP in English 1836 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, Nov 3 (AFP)—Thousands of people demonstrated for the third day running in the streets of Bucharest Saturday against the lifting of price controls and called for the resignation of President Ion Iliescu.

The latest demonstration began with a gathering of some 200 people in the central University Square, traditional scene of such events. Their numbers grew gradually to nearly 5,000. Several processions of demonstrators marched through the Romanian capital to the central government building and the television headquarters shouting "Down with Iliescu" and other slogans such as "The only solution, another revolution". Price controls were lifted by the government on Thursday.

The demonstrators said they did not belong to any political organisation.

Demonstrators Demand Government's Resignation

AU0311193590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1851 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—A part of the University Square demonstrators marched Saturday afternoon to government headquarters where an appeal was read out demanding the Government's resignation and the removal of former communists and the nomenklatura from top positions. The appeal also criticized the way foreign aid was used as well as the money in the "Libertatea" account. Discontent was also voiced for the government's price liberalization and foreign indebtedness policy.

Slogans were chanted against the government and against the president.

No violence was reported. Police did not intervene.

An anti-presidential and anti-governmental protest continued into the evening along Bucharest's thoroughfares. At about 6 p.m. [1600 GMT], the demonstrators, whose number has clearly increased, marched from University Square toward television to voice their discontent for the way political realities in the country are shown on television.

No violence was reported.

Traffic Blocked Again in University Square

AU0411162090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1508 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/11/1990—Groups of people gathered Sunday at noon in Bucharest's University Square, outside the Institute of Architecture to be more precise, to comment on the government's recent decision to free prices. At 2.30 p.m. [1230 GMT] traffic was blocked both ways by three hundred persons or so. Two banners with anti-government slogans are flying at both ends of the square.

This is the fourth consecutive day when people who claim no affiliation to any political group gather in Central Bucharest to voice their protest against the government's measure to lift price controls.

Demonstrators March to TV Station

AU0411185790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1733 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/11/1990—Sunday evening about five hundred demonstrators staged a march from University Square to the television station to voice their discontent for the government's price liberalization. No incidents were reported during the march and at the demonstration outside the television.

Police Restore Order

AU0511112790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0941 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/11/1990—The Ministry of the Interior has assured public opinion in Romania that it will make every effort by virtue of its lawful prerogatives of the parliamentary resolutions to keep civil order and quiet, says the ministry in a statement sent to ROMPRES.

As the acts of public disorder continued and increased in scope in the course of Sunday, 4 November 1990, the statement goes on, the minister of interior ordered Sunday night the lawful orderkeeping forces to intervene in order to restore order and a normal course of life in the capital of Romania, to defend the safety of all persons and their property. As a result, road traffic was resumed in University Square and order-keeping forces ensured a normal civilized climate in several parts of Bucharest.

In keeping with the draft law submitted to parliament, the personnel of the ministry is determined to ensure the freedom of expression and of opinion of every citizen, of every political, economic or social option or claim in a democratic way and with due respect for the law in a state of law, the statement shows and adds that the free expression of these options is a fundamental right of every citizen which has nothing in common with the acts of anarchy.

Protests Against Price Increases Incite Reaction

FSN Condemns Demonstrations

AU0311194390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] The National Salvation Front (NSF) [FSN], in a statement read on television Saturday night, expresses concern over new wave of street demonstrations in Bucharest against order and law with the obvious purpose to cause social and political trouble at all cost.

No political force claims to have organized these demonstrations, the statements says, no political formation says it supports them or claims responsibility for them. The demonstrators themselves do not state any political target, they just state their aggressiveness to the rule of law and to state order.

The National Salvation Front firmly condemns such attempts to upset social and political life, the statement says. The National Salvation Front calls on all political formations and organizations, trade unions, religious, student, and cultural organizations to support the economic reform, the consolidation of democracy and the state of law in Romania.

Dialogue and stability are the true alternative to aggressiveness and manipulation in the Romanian society on its difficult road to moral, economic, and political recovery, the NSF statement says.

Interior Ministry Issues Communique

AU0311215690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Communique issued by the Press Bureau of the Interior Ministry in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Several demonstrations, rallies, and marches have taken place in our capital city over the past few days. Some of these actions turned into obvious, provocative attempts to generate unforeseeable reactions and create a state of civic insecurity and social tension among people.

Thus, after the events that took place in St. George Square on the afternoon of 31 October—when, as it is well known, three policemen on duty were harassed by several individuals who were in violation of the law—other incidents occurred which resulted in the following: two private cars were destroyed, arms and ammunition were stolen, and a group of about 400-500 people, of which more than half were minors, blocked traffic at the "1848" Boulevard and Doamnei Street intersection.

On 1 November 1990, groups of citizens who daily have been in the vicinity of the Architecture Institute were joined by a group of demonstrators who blocked traffic and occupied the ground between the university and the Intercontinental Hotel around 1500 [1300 GMT].

Yesterday, 2 November, between 1300 and 1400 about 2,000 people gathered in the same area; some of those people began instigations, disturbing public order and completely blocking traffic in that area in all directions.

Some groups detached themselves from the demonstrators and headed for an authorized rally in the (?Izvor-Cosbuc) area, toward government headquarters, and Cotroceni Palace. While the group was moving forward, some demonstrators threw stones and bottles at the personnel guarding the presidency headquarters and tried to force the gates in an attempt to gain entry. Later, on the way back to the University Square—more precisely on Mihail Kogalniceanu Boulevard—these people continued their acts of provocation, insulting pedestrians, breaking the windows of some apartments, and robbing a bread delivering van.

These obviously provocative actions usually stopped for the night and the area was vacated and normal traffic resumed.

As of 1240 today, traffic in University Square was again blocked, first by about 500 people and then, as the numbers increased, by about 2,500 people around 1900. Just like the previous day, three groups of people detached themselves from the mass of demonstrators and started moving along the following streets: Mihail Kogalniceanu Boulevard, Izvor Bridge; through Unirii Square, Nicolae Balcescu Boulevard, Ana Ipatescu Boulevard, Victory Square, returning along Victory Road; and Nicolae Balcescu, Victory Square, the television building, and returning on Dorobantilor Road.

The demonstrations of the participants, similar to the period of 22-27 August, show the existence of some destabilizing elements and forces, who try to seriously disrupt order and distort Romania's image on the eve of the upcoming General European Conference in Paris and of our National Day.

In a complex period in both the domestic and international arenas, it is imperative for each citizen to give priority to the fundamental national interests and to Romania's prestige in the world, because any actions aimed at destabilizing the country might generate unforeseeable consequences beyond repair.

The legitimate forces of our society, including the Ministry of Interior, will take all the possible measures in accordance with the prerogatives established by law and the decisions of the country's Parliament to ensure security, calm, and civic order required by the great majority of the population, imperative premises for the democratic development of our country.

Roman, Union Members Discuss Price Liberalization

AU0311200190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1946 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] A dialogue on the theme of price liberalization between the prime minister and union representatives was broadcast live on television Saturday night.

The dialogue was opened by Petre Roman who outlined the principles underlying the government action which he defended, stressing that economic reform was imperative to switch to a market economy in the conditions in which social protection was ensured.

Roman Statement on Price Liberalization

AU0311233090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2014 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Statement by Prime Minister Petre Roman in a televised discussion with trade union representatives on recent government liberalization of prices in Bucharest on 3 November—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Tonight, during a live television broadcast, Prime Minister Petre Roman explained certain issues regarding price liberalization. The following people also participated in discussions with the prime minister: Mr. Miron Mitrea, coordinator of the Independent Trade Union Confederation "Fratia"; Mr. Victor Ciordea, president of the National Confederation of Free Trade Unions; Mihail Popescu, member of the Directing Committee of the Inter-Trade Union Confederative Alliance, and Bogdan Hosu, president of the Free Trade Union in the Field of Electric Engineering, Electronics, and Mechanics "Solidarity 90," member of the "Alfa" Trade Union Cartel. We now broadcast some of the prime minister's answers.

[Roman] The liberalization of prices is not a goal in itself. I think it is quite good that you began this discussion with an issue of principle. Price liberalization is one of the most important steps in the economic reform; however, it takes place as we face a situation with no other solution. Let us conduct a small analysis of the current government situation in which it has to oversee—among other things—the economy.

I will not repeat everything that I said in the report to Parliament, only those few essential issues which can quickly clarify things.

Just as I know, you also know all the elements of the erosion and the decrease in our production levels. This diminution of the productive potential and of labor's result, obviously meant at least an equal diminution of the available resources of our state and our country. Moreover, the reserves that we used to have and which we directed toward the revival of industrial sectors and agriculture—and, to a certain extent, to the people's consumption—have gradually been exhausted. The response of the economic structure to this injection of imports, however, was weak. As I said on other occasions, the quality of the economic process has continuously decreased.

We have constantly evaluated the steps of the reform. The reform was announced through the government program itself on 28 June. This program was unanimously endorsed by Parliament and enjoyed great support, including that of the trade unions. After this, we continued to seriously examine the steps of the reform and the measures to be taken in accordance with the first legislative initiatives, of which the most important is Law No. 15/1990.

Through a series of measures, the government tried to give more freedom to the economic structures, but it could not be change them entirely, which should be the final result of the reform—that is, to create appropriate conditions for the revival of economy.

October has traditionally been the month when we obtained the best economic results. What happened? July's results were poorer than June's, August's poorer than July's, and September's poorer than August's. October's results should have been the signal of economic renewal, but on 12 October, when we discussed price liberalization for the fifth time, as a measure closely linked to the reform, we noticed that October continued to be a desolate month and even [word indistinct]. At the same time—and I do not have to tell you about this—the government was permanently confronted with a wave of claims. The government, facing an exhausted economy, could not do anything else but resort to the existing resourses, resources which I said were continuously decreaseing until they were virtually exhausted.

Thus, we had to face this double pressure—the pressure of claims and the diminishing of the country's resources—which was brought about by poor economic activity.

I asked you on different occasions and through an analysis of all the sides of this economic activity what had to be done. I mentioned some time ago that only changing the functioning framework of enterprises and bringing them as close as possible to a state of autonomy, market economy, and others, can lead to a revival and a way out of the present economic deadlock.

Now I really get to your question. Why the liberalization of prices? First, provisions for it were clearly included in Law No. 15/1990. Together with the automatic and lawful establishment of commercial societies, the price for any product that has been produced by at least three producers becomes negotiable. This is the effect of Law No. 15. There are already 140 commercial societies and everybody, including the trade unions, call for the operative establishment of commercial societies.

That means that there is a real and profound contradiction between the functioning of Law No. 15 and the commercial societies' lack of ability to function within the framework of this law. Thus, we proceeded to price liberalization.

This liberalization in genuine. I want to stress that this is genuine as far as negotiable prices are concerned and is controlled where we find the greatest nonfulfillment in economy—that is, at the level of resources required by our economy.

Our economy, therefore, found itself in an impossible situation. We had to permanently inject more than half of our country's resources into an industry which produced fewer and poorer-quality products. These products were produced under conditions of poor discipline and poor managerial leadership in enterprises. To make enterprises face reality, there was no other way—as you agreed with me—than to face them with an economic truth about that which affects these enterprises, that is, these prices. The liberalization of prices emerges from these facts.

As far as the moment of its implementation, I believe that everything I told you some time ago shows that we no longer have the resources needed to maintain the present economic situation. If this still seems insufficient, I can bring up more arguments. This time you have to understand that, as a matter of fact, price liberalization now protects the population in [word indistinct]. The freezing of salaries will begin when the price negotiations are concluded on 1 January 1991. As of this month, however, we begin distributing compensation for each employee and each pensioner. As of next pay period, each employee and each pensioner will already receive a rather substantial amount of compensation.

I have to mention something else now. The economic reform does not only consist of this liberalization of prices and, in general, it does not consist of a whole complex of measures. Let us not avoid the truth. Certain areas, as far as durable goods are concerned—and to a certain extent imports [word indistinct], the free transportation, and other areas—will reflect the fact that we no longer have any means to maintain such a situation. As long as we relied on existing reserves and as long as we did not receive anything in exchange from the productive sector, we were not able to stop this depletion of resources, and we were always at the brink of a crisis in our society's financial system.

What we are doing now—that is, trying to mend this situation—is not without a certain difficulty—greater or smaller—for the population. The issue raised by you, however, is whether the broad masses will benefit by a social protection, because they are the ones who would be affected and not those who have relatively high incomes. All our calculations tell us that the social protection that we propose ensures a satisfactory and acceptable standard of living for our citizens. In this respect, all necessary corrections can be made later, both in the area of compensation and in the area where we have started only partial implementation—that is, the additional assistance to categories of citizens who cannot work: pensioners, mothers, and children.

I mentioned in the report that these categories of people should be granted additional assistance. As we replenish the state's resources, we can carry out redistribution in this respect. We should avoid using words which seem far- fetched, but which are completely true. Through social protection, this government proposes to achieve a more correct and just distribution of our available resources. I repeat, however, only of our available resources.

Government Examines Price Liberalization Effects

*AU0211201890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1833 GMT 2 Nov 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—The weekly government meeting took place on November 2. It had on the agenda the methods to establish the compensation and indexation of incomes as a result of the price and tariff liberalization, presented by Minister Theodor Stolojan, bills and draft decisions, including the bill on wage and salary tax.

In keeping with the government's decision on price liberalization and measures of social protection, the categories of persons who benefit by compensations include the employees of the units with state capital and state budget, with unlimited and limited labour contract, the persons who are entitled to unemployment benefit, the social insurance state pensioners, the war invalids and widows who receive pensions, the conscripts' wives who are entitled to benefits, social security beneficiaries, the children, the persons entitled to state grants paid out of the budget, the children of the above-mentioned persons aged between 16 and 25, who continue learning at full-time courses and do not receive scholarship, the handicapped children, first and second-grade invalids aged more than 18 who are looked after by the above.

The categories of persons and incomes benefiting from indexation are those stipulated in the same decision of the government and the amount of the money compensation is established based on the influences deriving from the new retail prices and tariffs with the specifically mentioned products and services.

The setting up of one hundred commercial companies, including Automobile Dacia as the first holding in Romania, was endorsed.

The start of re-equipment of the electric power plants of Turceni and Rovinari was endorsed, with foreign partnership, in order to increase the electricity production by 12 billion kwh [kilowatt-hours] a year.

Price Liberalization Incites Various Reactions

Political Press Organs React

*AU0211183490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1726 GMT 2 Nov 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—AZI, the press organ of the National Salvation Front (NSF) [FSN]: The government foresaw it all, with one exception—the absence of a correct social perception. A quasi-opaque curtain has fallen between what the technocrats in the government know and think and what the people perceive, so that each side contemplates the image it controls best: the government the image of the whole scenario of the reform, the buyer the image of sadly empty shops.

DREPTATEA, the press organ of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party: The government is keen on becoming more liberal than the liberals themselves, virtually eluding the NSF platform. Its programme, even if applied, is both limited and tardy. The question is whether we should ask or not for its resignation and for new elections—which is something ineluctable anyway or which is probably avoidable by dismissal. There looms the threat of a complete economic disaster.

TINERETUL LIBER, an independent newspaper that has become more critical of the government of late: What can we, the people at the grassroots, do? We should be optimistic. We are deemed to be optimistic and to cling to a buoy until our hands are sore. The consistency in the observance of the government programme, in which most of the parties can identify part of their own platforms, cannot be questioned nor can it be dubbed as an adventure but merely as a clear proof of courage and responsibility, of knowledge and enough skills.

ROMANIA LIBERA, an independent newspaper: We will be poorer. We count on the worst administrator, the state, which puts pays under control and lets prices loose. There is a dramatic dilemma on an economic plane. We must however grind our teeth and surmount this drama, solidly clinging to our ramshackle boat. Furthermore, there is a dramatic political dilemma, too. This is a time of parting. People are now solid before history in a way that differs from that before the election panels. Those who believe in the individual's real ability to govern himself should assume the risk to completely part with their incurable partners. The prime minister makes bets. The president arbitrates. But who is to win? Not us. We lose. We waste time. In factories and in the field. And why? The wealth is everyone's and no one's. Everyone gives the least he can and takes as much as he can. Which includes the government. [sentence as received] The law of property? It is here that the power no longer arbitrates. It severs initiative. It blocks the road to privatization. It blocks the transition bridge. Does the liberalization of prices decrease demand and needs? The price of our freedom is a bit too expensive.

Press Reaction Continues 3 Nov

*AU0311161590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1228 GMT 3 Nov 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—ADEVARUL: "It would be a shame that a step like this, so badly needed in the transition period, should be hampered by inadequate preparation. The general confusion created in a number of production units and shops speaks for itself. Random work, amateurishness and haste have all concurred. The bet here is not on gaining a few months, after the tardiness so far, but to win the citizen's confidence in an economy restructured on new criteria."

TINERETUL LIBER: "The government has rather abruptly implemented one of the most important steps of its reform, price liberalization, and here we are in front of a society not in the least ready to take on the risks and privations entailed by a period so difficult and yet so badly necessary. People are frightened, they know too little about the government's reform programme and that is why they are hardly willing to consciously accept the necessary ill of price liberalization. If we really wish to line up with the rest of the world and benefit from the support our East-European little sisters are fighting for, we'll have to see somewhat further than our nose tips."

DREPTATEA: "From the first day it came into effect, price 'liberalization' has been astounding, bringing millions of people to despair and confusion. Will the government and the president survive a blunder of such unprecedented proportions? We can predict, without doubt, the imminent fall of the government and the downfall of President Iliescu."

AZI: "The measure (price liberalization) is justified. Real prices stimulate production and reasonable consumption of raw materials and energy. Competition and high production levels force prices to drop and eliminate profiteering."

DIMINEATA: "Price liberalization precedes a succession of actions meant to instate a true liberalization of economy. The substitute experimented during the past ten months, of which each of us has taken advantage more or less, has brought us on the brink of disaster. The compromise solutions that others failed to prove successful years ago would only breed a mixed economy with no chances in a competition and therefore no chances to integrate in a system of real values.

Jiu Valley Miners Disagree

AU0311160290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1308 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—The Jiu Valley Mining Union League, assessing the price rise decided by the government as rash and having a big social impact, calls on the president of the country and on Parliament to take action.

Trade Unions Protest

AU0311161690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0859 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—The Executive Bureau of the Presidium of the Free Union National Confederation of Romania and the leaders of the 17 Trade Union Federations, as members of the presidium, examined the price liberalization enforcement W.E.F. [with effect from] 1 November 1990 and, in a communique, issued a strong protest to both the government and Parliament, saying: "the leadership of the confederation, which from the very beginning expressed its support for the implementation of free market mechanisms in the Romanian economy, is however of the opinion that the manner in which liberalization was enforced reveals serious discrepancies between the prime minister's intention as deriving from his public statements and the way they were understood by ministries and departments.

None the less, the confederation, being aware that the government needs to be granted the respite to work out the measures apt to stop the economic decline and to fundament the laws for the transition to a free market economy, decides to abstain from any major actions that might destabilize the present economic and social course.

At the same time, the confederation states its decision to act in keeping with its status, for the unabated protection of its members' interests, of the unions' rights and freedoms."

Finance Ministry Communique

AU0311161790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0859 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—The Romanian Ministry of Finance issued a communique showing that on 2 November joint inspection teams of the said ministry and of the Trading Department launched an all-country probing action on how the government decision on price liberalization and social protection is being observed.

It was found that for all staple food the prices were the same as those valid on 31 October, no increments were exacted, in keeping with the government decision.

Other foodstuffs, whose prices are supposed to be negotiated between producers and dealers, were being sold at higher prices as a consequence of higher costs of the basic raw materials, fuels, electricity, natural gas and others.

In certain cases, producers were found to have delivered merchandise at sharply higher prices which traders had rejected, requesting price cuts, which proves that the demand-and-offer criterion is beginning to function in the producer-trader negotiations.

Inspection will continue and will encompass several other types of products, so as to ensure a correct interpretation of price liberalization.

Labor Party Comments

AU0311180090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1621 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—The Provisional Steering Committee of the Labor Party, in agreement with its programme and in consideration of the shock brought by a sudden and inadequate price liberalization decided by the government and supported by most political parties represented in parliament, calls for a strong united worker movement apt to determine the government to take such measures as can ensure social equilibrium, says in a statement sent to ROMPRES. It supports its call by showing that, contrary to what the government and the majority of the political parties said in public, man is not at the core of their actions. At the same time, the statement says the government has assumed far bigger lawmaking rights and that it does not take the facts into account in its social regulation measures, which leads to social convulsions.

PNT-cd Issues Statement

AU0511101390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/11/1990—A statement issued by the leaders of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party (NPCDP) [PNT-cd] says that this party strongly supports a genuine market economy, but the reform underlying the passage to this type of economy, stresses the statement, can't be made without consulting the population, whose general support and active participation it needs. Our opinion is that we are not in a vicious circle now.

We consider a realistic system of prices, and not a simple, unacceptably high price rise, would have called for the following steps to be taken:

1) A really democratic policy of the ruling forces, instead of totalitarian violence and abuse that withheld foreign economic support, would have been trusted by the country;

2) A law on the private property of the land and the enterprises;

3) Consultations with the unions, the political parties and public organizations;

Obviously, the government should not have started with price rises, cash handouts being ridiculously low.

The current economic policy of the government will have the following consequences: a dramatic drop in the living standard and loss of the people's savings; economic and social instability; the idea of the market economy, the only one apt to take the country out of the present economic disaster, will be compromised.

National Liberal Party on Price 'Resetting'

AU0311160190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1448 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—Taking note of the government's decision to liberalize prices and provide social safeguards, the National Liberal Party calls the measures a resetting of the prices rather than their liberalization.

Opposition Parties Appear on 'Viewpoints' 24 Oct

AU0311172990

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Television Network in Romanian at 1700 GMT on 24 October carries a 40-minute program of the opposition parties, within the framework of the new program series entitled "Viewpoints." The program consists of three separate videos produced by the major opposition parties.

The first video is that of the National Liberal Party [PNL]. Dina Campeanu, wife of PNL leader Radu Campeanu, moderates this portion of the program, which is broadcast from Campeanu's home and is entirely devoted to a "nonpolitical issue for a change"—namely, the establishment of a charity foundation called "Holy Friday," after a "famous Bucharest church demolished by the previous regime." Sanda Tatarascu [relative of the prominent between-war PNL leader and foreign minister Gheorghe Tatarascu], is introduced as the chairman of "Holy Friday." Following her introduction, the last priest of the demolished church speaks about the tradition and role of the Holy Friday Church in Romania's past, and its charity activities among Bucharest's poor. He says that an initiative committee was established immediately after the revolution, "consisting of people of good faith," to "rebuild the Holy Friday Church." Sanda Tatarascu then says that Dina Campeanu was elected honorary chairman of the foundation and proceeds to talk about the purposes of the "Holy Friday" foundation, which will not limit itself to rebuilding the church, but will also do charity work to the benefit of orphans and the handicapped.

The second video is that of the National Peasants' Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd]. It consists of Ilie Paunescu, director of the PNT-cd press department, talking from the TV studio about various technical aspects related to the "Viewpoints" program. Among other things, he says that he wants the program to last permanently, rather than for the planned two to three months. He considers the idea that the "opposition parties should be asked to pay for their program" as "absurd." The mission of the television is "to inform" and to see to it that "the government does not get more chances than the opposition," this being "a basic rule of democracy." Consequently, he asks the television to ensure that the opposition's gets free access to TV time.

The third video is that of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. An unidentified reporter introduces Senator Toma Csiha of Maramures, an agriculture expert, who talks about the land bill currently being examined by Parliament. Comparing the agricultural platforms of the UDMR and the National Salvation Front [FSN], he sees only "nonessential" differences between them. When it comes to the current FSN-sponsored land bill, however, he finds it rather "rigid," with confusing and "superficially drawn up" provisions particularly regarding the right to land ownership.

Roman's European Trip Viewed; Severin Interviewed

AU0411165490

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Television Network in Romanian at 1720 GMT on 24 October carries a 40-minute program in the "Viewpoints" series, devoting today's program to the government.

Today's program has two parts. The first part consists of a review of Prime Minister Petre Roman's visit to Luxembourg and France on 22-23 October. At the beginning of the report, Prime Minister Roman is shown arriving in Luxembourg, meeting with the Grand Duke, and attending a news conference. The ceremony for the signing of a cooperation document with the European Council is also reported. Later, Petre Roman is seen in the company of the NATO chief Manfred Woerner after visiting the NATO headquarters; both men attended a news conference. Roman's visit to Paris is then reported, including his meeting with President Francois Mitterrand which focused on Romania's position in Europe and on Romanian-French relations. Roman's statement after the meeting is also shown. The end of the report shows Roman at the European Council in Strasbourg and at a news conference, talking about Romania.

The second part is devoted to an interview with Minister Adrian Severin, assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with the Parliament. Severin talks about an issue which "was misunderstood" by people, regarding the government's request to be granted additional power. He says that "it does not mean that the government wants unlimited power, it only wants special prerogatives for a limited time of six months, during which we can implement reforms more rapidly." He says that the government wants "to implement the laws endorsed by Parliament. We do not propose to issue new laws, but to more promptly implement laws passed by Parliament." He says that "we want to generalize the implementation of law in many areas and units which have not yett been reorganized." The government wants to establish a society with limited responsibilities, but which would enable a more rapid implementation of reforms. Severin says that price liberalization is necessary because a generalization of prices is needed; it is impossible for one sector to use one system of prices while another sector—such as former state units which have been turned into commercial societies—uses another. Severin believes that Parliament should endorse certain laws more rapidly because "it is more important to have laws than to have perfect laws." There will be time later to perfect these laws. After the reporter asks Severin whether Romania wants to set a precedence in this matter or there have been other countries which granted their government additional power, Severin says that France did the same thing after World War II and other countries did the same thing after a critical period in their history. Severin also says that foreign politicians who visited Romania were surprised that "our government does not have enough power to implement reforms at an appropriate time." He says that the government's desire is "only to move more rapidly."

In connection with price liberalization, Severin mentions that this means that "the new policy will stop subsidizing goods. It means that the government will not subsidize producers, but will grant compensation to purchasers." Producers will have to sell their products at their real value; however, the population will be compensated for the increase of prices. Severin regrets "the panic that has appeared in the souls of citizens." Severin concludes his interview by saying that the state will direct its assistance to the purchasers and not to the producer. He says that prices, however, will decrease after a normal pace of labor is established in all units.

Railway Trade Unions Threaten Labor Action

AU0211201590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1842 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—In a protest note to Romania's president, to the prime minister, the president of the Senate and the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, as well as to the press, the Federation of Branch, Traffic and Commercial Railway Free Unions of Romania, declare that the administration at all levels, the government included, does not respect the agreements concluded with the trade unions after December 22, 1989.

To the trade unions' opinion, the government conducts vis-a-vis them the policy of ignoring and minimizing their role in the country's economic and social life, creating by this a state of tension among all social categories, which has led to grave labour conflicts with negative effects that snowball alarmingly.

Romania's Government, the document reads, has worked out or is in the process of working out laws and normative acts of reorganization and functioning of the economic and social activity without having the unions state their standpoint on them.

The government program of transition to the market economy for which we stated our agreement, has currently become unacceptable for our unions, as the government has failed to observe the initially declared principle of bearing the cost of the transition to the market economy which should not be on the population's account.

The federation protests against the government's intention to extend the work week again by two working Saturdays a month, as well as against the Parliament's blocking the law of employment and promotion by the principle of competence.

It is stressed in the protest note that as the administration at all levels and the legislative body refuse, through the responsible and decision-making factors, the participation in a dialogue, the respective federation considers that it has exhausted the means of settling these conflicts and has decided to start a general strike as of November 16, 1990, 4:00 hours [0200 GMT], by completely ceasing activity all over the railway network in the goods traffic.

If the conflicts fail to be settled also in this period, the strike will be extended to the passenger traffic as well, for an indefinite period of time, until the actual settlement of the conflict.

President Press Office Refutes PNL Assertions

AU0311180190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1702 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990—Unsupported assertions concerning the alleged wish of the president of the country to have more rights, more prerogatives were made in a televised talk Friday night by leading members of the National Liberal Party (NLP) [PNL], a statement from the press office of the Presidency says:

We want to stress—by this way as well—that the actions of the president of Romania were and will strictly be within the prerogatives established by the electoral law enacted by parliament. Never and in no way did the president show any desire to have them extended. As concerns the substance and scope of these prerogatives in future, it is up to the lawmaking body to decide it in the constitution that is now being written.

We therefore ask ourselves who can take an interest in depicting the president's activities and intentions otherwise than they really are, and for what reason, especially in a complicated and tense atmosphere as it now is?

We express our conviction that eventually, the NLP representatives will learn from the appeal they themselves made at the start of the programme to avoid demagogy, wanton statements unsupported by reality, that may fuel public suspicions.

PNT-cd Against Neofascist, Anti-Semitic Acts

AU0211183190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1731 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd], during a recent call on Chief Rabbi Rosen, gave straightforward assurances that his party would combat neofascist and anti-Semitic tendencies which almost daily make Jews their targets in many newspapers.

Chief rabbi Rosen welcomed the statement of the PNT-cd leader.

Magureanu Wants To Enhance Credibility of SRI

AU0211162690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0955 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—"It is high time to concern ourselves more about such things as may enhance the credibility of the Romanian Intelligence Service (RIS) [SRI]," Mr. V. Magureanu, director of that institution, said in a discussion with Mr. Petre Mihai Bacanu, published by daily "ROMANIA LIBERA."

Mr. Magureanu, while admitting to the necessity to make the RIS' activities more "transparent," offered to supply various documentary materials about his institution which, as he added, "had a public address and telephone number."

To Mr. Bacanu's request for the files of the former Securitate being made public, Mr. Magureanu answered "that would start a real witch-hunt" and would whip up public suspicion "which is already running dangerously high."

Asked whether the RIS felt in any way responsible for the June 13-15 events, Mr. Magureanu said that it "did not suffer from a culpability syndrome." "It ought to keep its distance from both sides," Mr. Magureanu said, adding that "its role was to give social protection against those who would get involved in serious destabilizing actions." In his opinion, "there was extremism during the June events. The University Square had to be cleared, but the clearing plan was bad. A re-evaluation is necessary of those events," Mr. Magureanu underlined.

When Mr. Bacanu put in that "Romania's present drama is not destabilization but isolation," which required "a public repentance" of those in power today, Mr. Magureanu admitted that "isolation was oppressive" and could have negative effects, "but we should not minimize the efforts made to overcome that state of isolation and suspicion." Probably, Mr. Magureanu opined, we have not managed so far to establish the most significant contacts able to give the world a picture of Romania such as it deserves. Such contacts both inside and outside the country and a dialogue, as a condition for our progress toward democracy, seem more important to us right now than any public repentance," Mr. Virgil Magureanu pointed out.

Five Arrested for St. George Square Incident

AU0211162290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1037 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—Thursday night at Bucharest's Police Department a press conference was held where the police announced it was on the tracks of the author of the Wednesday Sfintu Gheorghe [St. George Square] incident, which led to the grave molestation of three police officers and the deterioration of two police cars.

The aforementioned person refused to obey a police patrol and drove his van to the Sfintu Gheorghe Square where he instigated the population against the policemen shouting they were "terrorists."

Against the background of the population's discontent with the price liberalisation, the shout led to the attack of the police officers and their molestation. As the chief of the police department said, the greater part of the attackers, though, were hoodlums.

Referring to the five men arrested in Colentina in the possession of whom were the gun and the cartridges stolen from the police car during the incident the speaker said that three had been released and only two of them with a record remained under arrest.

As for the three policemen, they are still at the military hospital, the condition of one of them being extremely serious.

Mr. Voicu [presumably the police department spokesman] stressed that in the capital city infractions of law had seen a steep increase doubling in the ten months elapsed since the beginning of this year. Two-to-three more crimes, robberies, attempts at public and private wealth are being registered.

He opined that to fight the growing infractions of law police should be reinforced and their communication and intervention means should be improved. He announced that a special riot unit was being trained. We await that Parliament pass the law for the organization and operation of the Ministry of the Interior and of the policeman's code of conduct as soon as possible to stipulate his rights and duties as, at present, police act in fear owing to the lack of such regulations.

Former PCR Trial Continues; Witnesses Heard

Gere Rejects Accusations of Genocide

AU0211163790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0853 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—Mihai Gere, the 18th defendant heard in the trial of former Politburo [PEC] members accused of genocide, rejected in his turn the charges against him, stating that the indictment did not reflect the truth.

Claiming he was unjustly accused, he said: "The prosecution grossly blundered and made a fool of themselves with this trial. Persons involved in the February 18, 1990 as well as in the June 13-15 events are free, while we are here in the dock. Our brilliant prosecutor general has lost all his brilliance and become common gossip, he has lost everything, and he may well be a prosecutor general, yet he cannot stop us from telling the truth."

During the same session several requests from the defense and the accused were solved. The court deferred by 45 days the investigative arrest of defendant Paul Niculescu Mizil for reasons of health. The same measure was postponed by ten days for defendant Dumitru Popescu to allow him to remove his belongings from his home from which he is evicted, according to a decision by the Bucharest City Council.

The court also approved requests to release a number of saving bank accounts in favour of some of the defendants' families—50,000 lei for defendant Nicolae Constantin; 50,000 lei for defendant Constantin Olteanu; 22,000 lei for the same defendant's daughter together with some jewelry and other assets belonging to the latter; over 49,000 lei for defendant Iosif Szasz's wife.

Radu Testifies 2 Nov

AU0311194890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1906 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1990— "I am actually implicated in a political trial" said Defendant Ion Radu during the hearing of November 2, at the County Military Court, of the former Romanian Communist Party [PCR] Executive Political Committee members, charged with genocide. He rejects the accusation of mass murder, pleading, once more, not guilty and considering that he was actually brought before court in his capacity of ex top Communist Party official.

Scheduled for the same session of the court was also the hearing of Defendant Suzanica Gadea, who was absent for health reasons. Her hearing was rescheduled for 6 November, at the next court session.

Trade Unions Demand Market Economy Legislation

AU0211201490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1853 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—Representatives of seven TU federations of the Alfa Cartel, the Alliance of Brasov Union Confederation, the Hercules TU Confederation of Transport and 12 non-affiliated unions participated in a meeting organized in Bucharest on November 2.

Bogdan Hossu, chairman of the Solidaritatea [Solidarity] 90 Confederation of the Alfa Cartel read out on the occasion a petition to the Romanian Government demanding: The conditioning of the enforcement of the provisions of any law or decision of liberalization upon the production of the legislation specific to the market economy, the setting up of a parliamentary commission to comprise also union representatives and pursue the implementation of the government program of supply with food and consumer goods in keeping with the population's needs, analyze the activity of the administrative infrastructure and propose the dismissal of the incompetent cadres, analyze the opportuneness of conclusion of deals between government representatives and private persons having as object capital assets that are state and cooperative property.

The petition also demands the live TV broadcast of the debates between the unions and the government, the discussion in Romania's Parliament of a bill of integral redemption of the state and cooperative property to the Romanian people.

The participants in the meeting firmly dissociated themselves from the protest action in the University Square.

Interest Rates on Deposits Set To Double

AU0211201790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—A decision of the Romanian Government authorises the Savings Bank of Romania to double the present interest rates for all types of deposits from private persons.

The new interest rates will become effective from January 1, 1991.

The same decision empowers the National Bank of Romania to set interest rates for account deposits and credits granted to economic units.

Bucharest, Sibiu Show Solidarity With Moldavia

AU0411190090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1726 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/11/1990—Solidarity with the Romanians across the Prut and growing concern over the threat to the territorial integrity of the Republic Moldova were voiced Sunday at an authorized meeting organized by the Bucharest-Chisinau Culture Society, in Bucharest's Liberty Park.

Opening the meeting that brought together thousands of people the society's president Gheorghe Gavrila Copil suggested the formation of detachments to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova. The idea was stressed that, should the people in Bessarabia be in a position to defend their republic at the cost of their life, then one million Romanians would cross the Prut to bring medicine, and donate blood. However, it was said that the units would not cross the border unless the government of the Republic of Moldova or the Popular Front of Moldova urged them to.

After the meeting, the demonstrators staged a three-hour long march across Bucharest. The impressive column marched through University Square, past the Embassy of the U.S.A., then past the British Embassy and the French Embassy until they reached the government headquarters.

At the embassy of the USSR the demonstrators stopped to chant slogans: "Moscow don't forget, Bessarabia is not yours," "Iliescu- Gorbachev—down with the Molotov Treaty," "Bessarabia is Romanian land," "KGB, KGB—stop pulling the strings," "Long live Moldova, Transylvania and Muntenia," "In unity we fight to defend Bessarabia."

A meeting of solidarity with the Romanians in Bessarabia was called at Sibiu by the local branches of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum and the pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina Association. Thousands of residents of the city and county of Sibiu took part.

Foreign Minister Nastase Departs for Rome

AU0411162190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/11/1990—Romania's Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase left Sunday morning for a four-day visit to Italy. Before his departure at Otopeni Airport he told a ROMPRES journalist: "two are the aims of my visit: to attend the Ministerial Human Rights Conference which marks the fortieth anniversary of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights under the aegis of the Council of Europe and to make a working visit upon the invitation of Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis. It will be an opportunity to meet outstanding Italian politicians, and it will enable us to review the bilateral relationship as well as to exchange opinions on major aspects of the current international life, particularly in light of the CSCE summit in Paris."

Pana Ends Visit To Saudi Arabia; Off to Qatar

AU0211201990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1831 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—As part of its tour of some Arab countries in the Gulf, the Romanian Government delegation headed by Doru Pana, minister of public works, transport and territorial development, visited Saudi Arabia over October 27-November 1. The delegation had interviews with the minister of oil and mineral resources, the minister of commerce and finance, the minister ad-interim of planning, as well as with representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and with businessmen in Saudi Arabia. The talks covered the possibilities of Romanian-Saudi economic cooperation, the promotion of exchanges of visits and the conclusion of bilateral documents in the commercial domain.

The delegation left for Qatar on Friday.

U.S. Statement on Elections Deemed Inappropriate

LD0211151190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1412 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA on Friday describes as "inappropriate" the U.S. State Department demands in relation to the manner of holding the forthcoming parliamentary elections in four Yugoslav republics.

"The sharpness of the demands was perhaps intended to satisfy the senators who have recently been saying exceptionally bad things about some parts of Yugoslavia," says the paper close to the Yugoslav Government, pointing to "certain differences" between the State Department and the Congress in evaluating the conditions in some of the Yugoslav republics.

"It is both superfluous and non-diplomatic" for American diplomacy to insist on the foreign observers' presence at the elections, writes BORBA. It recalls that "none of the Yugoslav republics have so far said that the observers of foreign non- governmental organizations are unwelcome."

"After all, they have been present in Croatia and Slovenia, they have been in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, so why should not they also be present in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia," asks BORBA.

The paper recommends that the Yugoslavs "keep calm" about the criticism from abroad, "because if foreigners can influence the domestic electorate, it speaks less of them and more of the local conditions."

Parties React to Announcement

LD0211174190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1535 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—The reactions of parties in Yugoslavia to the announcement of the U.S. State Department on the coming elections in the four Yugoslav republics, as TANJUG's poll showed, range from 'mild surprise' and accusations 'of meddling into internal affairs', to 'satisfaction over the moral support' and asessment [word indistinct] 'it was welcome because it was - anti-communist.'

Vice-president of the Bosnian Moslem Organization, Academician Muhamed Filipovic, believes the 'presence of an international factor at the elections in Yugoslavia was a sort of guarantee that they would be regular.'

Acting president of the Croatian Democratic Union for Bosnia- Hercegovina Stjepan Kljucic describes the U.S. State Department announcement as 'a great moral support to all progressive forces in Yugoslavia and those who wish the elections to be carried through without fail.'

We see the U.S. government demands as anti-communist and therefore welcome, said Milan Paroski of the People's Party from Novi Sad. He, however, believes the U.S. Administration should have demanded that Yugoslav-level elections be organized, and not only in the four republics.

As regards elections in Serbia, the gentlemen from the U.S. State Department are knocking on the open door, said member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia, Professor Dr Vladimir Stambuk.

Leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) Vuk Draskovic assessed that the announcement 'contained nothing the SPO had not already demanded, and the authorities in Serbia arrogantly turned down.' The SPO welcomes the announcement of the U.S. State Department and will (?demand) international control of elections in Serbia.

President of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina Andras Agoston set out he understood the announcement in the context of 'Serbian-U.S. relations, something national minorities in Vojvodina should not interfere with.'

Dr Gane Todorovski, president of the Movement for Pan-Macedonian Action (MAAK) stated MAAK was 'slightly surprised by such a step of the U.S. government which partly meant meddling in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.'

Secretary of the League of Communists of Macedonian-Party for Democratic Transformation Tito Petkovski states that his party was the first to uphold the initiative to secure the presence of international parliamentary groups with observers status at elections in Macedonia, elections which he has convinced would be democratic, free and [word indistinct].

A similar stand was adopted by Stojan Andov of the Alliance of Reformist Forces Yugoslavia for Macedonia, who said 'there was nothing whatsoever pointing out that the elections in Macedonia would not be fair and democratic.'

The stand of the Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia, whose president is Acaemician Milan Djurcinov, was that 'foreign neutral observers should not be encouraged' because 'such control would mean before-hand doubt that the Yugoslav peoples were capable of securing regular, free and democratic elections' and that objections pertaining to Eastern Europe cannot apply to Yugoslavia too.

Mitrovic Talks in Moscow Secure Renewed Shipments

AU0311173790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0400 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] The agreement between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union on switching to a system of payment and trade in convertible currency is very important, Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, announced on his return from Moscow. We have also reached agreement on the repayment of the debt that has arisen with our exports to the USSR in the last five to six years, Mitrovic stressed.

An agreement was also reached on the importation of significant quantities of oil, crude oil, cotton, and aluminum, as well as some other products connected with our exportation of consumer goods to the USSR.

Negotiations were indeed difficult but successful, Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, stressed.

Iraq Maintains Break in Telephone Links

LD0311201990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Baghdad, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Iraq has kept disrupted telephone links with Yugoslavia for the third consecutive day without explaining its move, that hampers additionally the work of Yugoslav workers and experts who remained on their jobs despite extremely difficult conditions in the Arab country.

Immediately after the August 2 occupation of Kuwait, Iraq has disconnected all Telex links of Yugoslav economic and other representations, including the Yugoslav embassy and the TANJUG office in Baghdad. About 300 Yugoslav workers (of the original 8,000) now remain in Iraq. As is learnt, Iraq has not broken telephone links with many Western and other countries which are most directly involved in the Gulf crisis.

FEC Session Views Reform, Growing Resentment

LD0211131890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0924 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—At last night's session, presided over by Ante Markovic, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] examined the implementation of the program of economic reforms and certain current issues of the political situation in the country. It was assessed that, since the October session of the Yugoslav Assembly, which contributed to the reduction of tensions, attacks on the FEC and the reforms which it is implementing have again increased.

There have been new decisions in certain republics which suspend the federal laws and violate constitutionality and legality, thereby preventing the functioning of the rule-of-law state. It is clearly the intention to create fresh tensions in the country so that in such an atmosphere it is easier to make unilateral moves, jeopardize the holding of multiparty elections in the republics and provinces and at the federal level, and prevent the adoption of the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution.

The FEC decided to begin proceedings in the Constitutional Court to assess the constitutionality and legality of the laws and other general acts adopted in the assemblies and executive councils of Slovenia and Serbia, which regulate issues relating to the Yugoslav market, foreign trade and customs, sales tax, etc., as well as of decrees of the Croatian Government regulating ownership relations. It was also decided that the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia should be asked to issue orders relating to the failure to execute acts, or actions taken on the basis of regulations whose constitutionality or legality is under evaluation because their implementation would cause unforseeable damage to the whole country.

The FEC asked the federal organs of administration to increase the supervision, through their inspection and other services, of the implementation of federal regulations and to report criminal and economic irregularities in all cases where the federal regulations are violated. The FEC will ask the Federal public prosecutor to take measures so that the competent public prosecutor's office acts efficiently and legally to prevent and prosecute violators of the federal laws.

The FEC called on the National Bank of Yugoslavia to set up direct controls of the National Bank of Yugoslavia in the national banks of the republics and provinces, in addition to the services which already exist, to ensure the consistent implementation of decisions and measures in the field of monetary and foreign exchange policies, and to keep the FEC regularly informed on this.

The FEC is resolute in its stand that no single federal unit should be allowed to withhold and spend funds arbitrarily which belong to the budget of the federation. The FEC will, in this way, prevent the blocking of the execution of vital functions of the federation, including the army, and, in particular, those which relate to the fulfilment of budgetary commitments to the less developed regions, agricultural and export subsidies, social programs in the republics, and the guarantee of funds for veterans' and disability allowances and army pensions.

The adoption of these decisions is already having negative consequences for the implementation of the reforms, jeopardizing the standard of living and bringing back inflation, which is having a negative effect on the whole country, particularly on the areas where these decisions were taken. The Federal Secretariat for Finance has, therefore, been asked, together with the Yugoslav Social Accountancy Service, to ensure control over the implementation of orders relating to the setting up of a separate account to which the funds from the prime sources of the federation are paid.

The FEC assesses that the introduction of any import barriers, taxes, and duties other than by the organs of the federation is illegal and represents a flagrant violation of the regulations of GATT, of which Yugoslavia is a member. These decisions are incompatible with the policies of reform of the FEC which made possible the liberalisation of over 90 percent of prices in foreign trade exchange and ensure high foreign currency reserves, and also have a negative effect on the international standing of the country.

Since the decisions of the republics of Serbia and Slovenia are in contravention of the single Yugoslav market and lead to its breakdown, the administrative increase in prices, and an impermissable threat to the living standard of consumers, the Federal Secretariat for Trade has been ordered to ensure that its inspectors guarantee the free circulation of goods and services on the market.

Health controls of imported goods are exclusively within the purview of the federal and not the republican organs. The FEC has, therefore, ordered the Federal Secretariat for Labor, Health, Veterans Affairs and Social Welfare and the Federal Secretariat for Agriculture to ensure with their inspection services the unhindered implementation of this part of the system, as well.

The FEC adopted a decision within its competence to also ensure the implementation of the law on military service.

The FEC will inform the Yugoslav Assembly of these phenomena, its evaluation of the situation, and the measures taken and will convene a special meeting of presidents of the executive councils of the republics and provinces. [passage omitted]

Markovic To Report on Economy to Assembly 15 Nov

LD0511135890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Summary] Belgrade 5 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces will be in session on 14 and 15 November. On 15 November Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic will address this chamber on the country's economic situation and economic policy.

Private TV Expanding; Yutel Facing Opposition

AU0511110090 Paris AFP in English 1017 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Nov (AFP)—Private television stations have started mushrooming in Yugoslavia, though they are facing opposition from the local political powers who are also resisting any trend towards nationwide broadcasts.

The latest station to open is in the southern republic of Macedonia. It broadcasts 12 hours of programming daily - mostly films, commercials and video clips—to the 50,000 residents in and around the southeastern city of Stip.

It joins a series of small, local television stations that have sprung up recently, mostly in Croatia and Slovenia in the northwest.

The largest new independent station is the YUTEL station, which was opened October 23 by a private firm in which the federal government of Ante Markovic holds the majority shares.

YUTEL hopes to fill the void of television news programs covering all of Yugoslavia's territory but has met with sharp protest in Serbia, the most populous republic where the capital Belgrade is located.

Currently, the television stations in the country's six republics and two autonomous provinces are tightly controlled by the local political authorities, be they communist or non-communist, who have done little to broaden the spectator's choice of news programs.

YUTEL so far can only be seen in the central republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is building its own studio in Belgade, but in the meantime is broadcast from the station in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia.

The plans for YUTEL, however, have angered the chairman of Serbian television, Dusan Mitevic. He has blasted YUTEL as a "pirate station" and ordered that mobile transmission relays lent by the Army be dismantled.

Under current regulations, in Belgrade only the daily Politika, the organ for Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic, has the right to access to a television station.

Another station called TV Studio B, which has no party affiliation, has been waiting for months for the allocation of a broadcasting frequency in Belgrade.

Poll on Upcoming Elections Published in Skopje

AU3110135390

[Editorial Report] Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian on 26 October on pages 1 and 5 carries an approximately 3,000-word report on the results of NOVA MAKEDONIJA's public opinion poll on the upcoming elections, entitled "Communists and Reformists—Favorites and Rivals."

According to the report, the poll was conducted "between 20 and 22 October in all communes in the republic." NOVA MAKEDONIJA polled 619 people whose names were randomly selected by a computer from the telephone directories. "The selection of the respondents is proportionate to the percentage of the electorate in different communes."

The report also states that, "out of the total number of respondents, 14.38 percent are between 18 and 27 years of age, 24.23 percent between 28 and 35, 44.1 percent between 36 and 55, and 17.29 percent over 55 years of age. As regards the nationality composition, 77.22 percent are Macedonians, 10.5 percent are ethnic Albanians, 3.55 percent are Yugoslavs, 2.1 percent are Turks, and 6.63 percent are of other nationality."

The results of the poll are presented in one bar and two pie charts as follows:

Table 1. "If the elections were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?"

[a bar chart with figures in percentages]

1. League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation	28.76
2. Alliance of Reform Forces	17.77
3. Party for Democratic Prosperity	6.95
4. Socialist Party	3.88
5. Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE]	3.55
6. Movement for All-Macedonian Action [MAAK]	2.91
7. Other parties	6.94
8. Do not know	29.24

Table 2. "Which party will Macedonians vote for?"

[a pie chart with figures in percentages]

1. League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation	31.79
2. Alliance of Reform Forces	19.87
3. VMRO-DPMNE	4.6
4. Socialist Party	4.18
5. MAAK	3.76
6. Other parties	5.89
7. Do not know	29.91

Table 3. "Which party will Albanians vote for?"

[a pie chart with figures in percentages]

1. Party for Democratic Prosperity	64.61
2. League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation	10.76
3. Alliance of Reform Forces	3.07
4. Other parties	3.11
5. Do not know	18.45

People's Radical Party Elects New Chairmen

LD0411221790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2012 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade 4 Nov (TANJUG)—Tonight delegates of the People's Radical Party have by a secret vote, at the end of a ten-hour extraordinary nationwide assembly, elected the party's new main committee and chairman. Miroljub Pavlovic, a lawyer from Belgrade, was elected its chairman; Dragon Kojcic deputy chairman; and Svetislav Stanojevic, Milos Pesic, Dragisa Neskovic, and Milan Bozovic vice chairman.

Two Serbian Presidential Candidates Nominated

LD0211154890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—So far two candidates have been nominated for the post of president of the Republic of Serbia. These are Vojislav Seselj, a doctor of law from Batajnica, and Zivan Haravan, a social worker from Belgrade.

Their candidature was accepted today by the Republican Electoral Commission which issued a document endorsing the nominations of the two candidates for the post of president of the Republic.

Vojislav Seselj has been nominated by a group of citizens, because the party he heads, the Serbian Cetnik Movement [Srpski Cetnicki Pokret], is not registered. Zivan Haravan is nominated by the Party of Social Justice [Stranka Socijalne Pravde].

At its session today the republican Electoral Commission also considered the cost of holding the elections.

Yugoslav Socialist Democrats View Coalition

AU0211203390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] At their session held this evening, representatives of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Socialist Democratic Party elected the party's initiative committee for Serbia which has the task to prepare the initiative assembly. Here is a report by Zorica Pantelic:

[Pantelic] Vojislav Petrovic was elected president of the Republican Initiative Committee. The founding assembly is planned for 15 November and, judging from what was heard this evening, the party will enter a coalition with the Socialist Party of Serbia. This orientation was expounded upon by the party president, Professor Milan Miladinovic who said that the Yugoslav Socialist Democratic Party and the Socialist Party of Serbia have almost identical programs with a leftist orientation.

The Yugoslav Socialist Democratic Party supports the preservation of a federal Yugoslavia, socialism, and social ownership. It opposes all kinds of national exclusivity, and, as was pointed out, all attempts to break up Yugoslavia at a green table.

Members of this party of a Yugoslav orientation are against separatism, chauvinism, and party competition which, it was said, can only harm the people and their orientation toward togetherness, honest work, and solving problems through dialogue.

Draskovic Outlines Serb Renewal Movement Platform

AU0311211090

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian on 3 November at 0930 GMT, jointly with

Belgrade 202 and the Serbian Radio Network, and again at 1600 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian Radio Network, carries programs presenting the Serbian Renewal Movement as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990" presenting the parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The program carried at 0930 GMT lasts half an hour and features Vuk Draskovic, the party's president, responding to criticism that he has received from various quarters.

Concerning Slobodan Milosevic, Draskovic says: "I will now say to Mr. Milosevic that he should come out of his Dedinje villa among the people and see that those same people of two years ago are gathering on the squares at the promotional meetings of the Serbian Renewal Movement. This involves those same people who feel deceived and duped, and who are bitter because none of the promises that were made two years ago have been fulfilled."

He then goes on to describe all the problems that Slobodan Milosevic has claimed are resolved and calls the situation in Serbia "quite dramatic." He then vividly explains his view of the situation in Serbia since the war and what the ruling party would leave behind for the winners of the elections. He concludes this by saying: "Everything that I have talked about is darkness, half a century of darkness and chaos which was caused and created by Bolshevik ideology."

He speaks in very vague terms about what his party would do if they won the elections, stressing the importance of young people in society and that the party will ban any form of revanchism toward the Communists or anyone else.

Draskovic concludes his presentation by responding to Brana Crncevic who criticized him for going to the site of the wartime concentration camp at Jasenovac.

Vuk Draskovic also appears on the program at 1600 GMT, answering questions put to him by an unidentified moderator on a variety of subjects.

Concerning Yugoslavia's future, Draskovic says that his party does not want to destroy the country and goes on to say: "We are in favor of Yugoslavia, a federation, even agreeing to the present internal borders of the republics, even though they are criminal and illegal, on the condition that this state is a strong state with a strong central authority and is a democratic, multiparty state. It is quite unimportant whether this will be a republic or monarchy but we agree to it on condition, that everywhere in other republics, provinces and (?autonomous) regions be set up for the same reasons which motivated the creation of two provinces on the territory of the present Serbian state." He then goes on to describe what this entails: the creation of an autonomous province for Serbs in Croatia; recognition of the autonomous status of Istria; the restoration of the centuries-old autonomous status of Dubrovnik; the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into four parts. The same criteria would be used to organize the national structure of Macedonia as well.

After explaining this idea further, Draskovic then goes on to talk, as he did on the morning program, about interethnic relations, the party's economic program, and ecology.

Supports 1918 Borders, Federation

LD0311223890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—We will fight for a democratic, multiparty, parliamentary, European Serbia as a member of a federal Yugoslavia, said chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove] Vuk Draskovic, in a long interview published today in the Sofia daily OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK. If it comes to a confederation or the break-up of Yugoslavia, Draskovic continued, we will fight for the same kind of Serbia, but within its historical and ethnic borders.

In reply to reporter Velizar Enchev's question as to what those borders were, Draskovic said that those are "all the territories with which Serbia and Montenegro entered Yugoslavia in 1918."

In the interview, published on almost an entire page of the paper, Enchev introduces Draskovic to Bulgarian readers as "the certain leader of the future parliamentary opposition, or likely president of Serbia."

Whether Serbia will be a republic or a monarchy will depend on the wish of its citizens, Draskovic said, and added that if the Movement wins the elections, all members of the Kardjordjevic dynasty would immediately have their rights of citizenship returned. "We will also return to them confiscated property, including the Dedinje residence. After that, we will carry out a referendum", he said.

Speaking about inter-republican relations in Yugoslavia, Draskovic said that it was the sovereign right of the Slovene nation to secede from the Yugoslav federation. Then, however, it would be necessary to resolve a series of problems relating to the "divorce". "I regret that it has come to a worsening of Serbian-Slovene relations," Vuk Draskovic said.

On the Serbian-Croatian conflict over Bosnia-Hercegovina, Draskovic says that it is "forced and not historical", since in Bosnia-Hercegovina "there were never more than 15 percent Catholics, while 99 percent of Muslims are Serbs, of Slav origin". Both Kosovo and Bosnia are religious, and not national problems, he feels. Draskovic also says that the situation will soon call for the formation of a new Balkan alliance of the Orthodox countries of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece to offer resistance to the advance of Islam.

Almost half the interview is taken up by a clash between Draskovic and Enchev on the Macedonian issue. Replying to the very provocative questions, and the assertion of the Bulgarian reporter that 90 percent of the population in the Vardar region of Macedonia is Bulgarian, Draskovic said that as far as his party is concerned the Macedonian question was resolved through war. "For us, this is a fait accompli. For as long as the Yugoslav federation exists, the Republic of Macedonia can exist. However, if Yugoslavia falls apart or becomes a confederation, Macedonia will not be able to be either independent or confederal. It belongs to Serbia, since Macedonia, is the historical property of the Serbian nation", Draskovic said. In his view, "what Serbia won on the battlefield can only be lost on the battlefield."

Drawing his readers' attention to Draskovic's views on Balkan policy and the Macedonian question, Enchev warns that they may one day become "official policy of the Serbian leadership."

Three Serbian Party Blocs Identified, Contrasted

AU0411204190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 4 Nov

[Nebojsa Spajic commentary from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Election campaign in Serbia with three clearly distinguishable political concepts has acquired a new impetus. Nebojsa Spajic will tell us more about it:

[Spajic] The most influential representatives of the three blocs—the Serbian democratic opposition, the reformist Yugoslav bloc, and the bloc of the ruling party with several supporting organizations—have held several significant meetings. By holding the pan-Serbian assembly in the Sava Center, the Serbian Renewal Movement proved itself to be the most influential party of the national-democratic bloc. The strengthening of its influence has come, above all, as a result of a change in the party's political image. Although it retained its firm national orientations, the Serbian Renewal Movement has started moving toward the center. Had it not been for the still considerable information blockade, the party would have been able to shrug much of the burden of extremism and primitivism. This was confirmed by the look and behavior of the delegates to the assembly, and, what is much more important, by the speeches of all party leaders. On several instances they insisted on agreement and negotiations as a way to solve all open questions and warned that the biggest problem of the party was created by those very members who thought it to be an organization ready for blood shedding and violence. Even socialists, ex-communists that is, who are seen as the party's greatest opponents, albeit not enemies, were promised that, in case the Serbian Renewal Movement wins, there will be no revanchism.

In his speech at the assembly, the party president, Vuk Draskovic, explicitly recognized the existence of the Macedonian people, the right of everybody, including the Slovenes and Croats, to secede, and promised to Montenegro that it will be nobody's (?serf) or province. He offered all political opponents an agreement on all political questions.

It is important to say that such stances must not be interpreted as a deviation from the consistent insistence on national interests. National spirit dominated over all elements of the gathering, ranging from the symbols shown and the anthems played—the old Serbian anthem and St. Sava anthem—and the fact that a priest was in the chair, to the adoption of the Declaration on National Reconciliation and the importance attributed to that document. The only question still open concerns the future relation of the orthodox, national, and democratic aspects. It would not be good for the Serbian Renewal Movement if any of the three elements prevails, so their balance was well established at the assembly.

The Socialist Party of Serbia has also made several good preelection moves. Although there were no particularly new in the program at the founding assembly of the party's Belgrade Committee, it did confirm that the socialists were serious when they talked about new people. Rados Smiljkovic and Snezana Aleksic, whom the public did not like, are no longer among the leading members of the ruling party. They have been replaced by Aleksandar Bakocevic, Slobodan Vucetic, and Oskar Kovac, who are considered by many to be the greatest (?real) representatives of the liberal, democratic, and progressive current in that party.

The speech in Bor by Slobodan Milosevic, who is not only the president of the Republic of Serbia, but also the head of the Socialist Party of Serbia, can be considered advantageous to the Socialists Party's election campaign, thanks to many attractive arguments, but it can also be harmful, because of a certain lack of political feeling, for example in the part where he settled accounts with political opponents by calling them names.

There have also been several important events concerning the third political bloc gathered around the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia. At the initiative of the Association for the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative and the Party of Yugoslavs, the parties close to the reformists have started talks and are planning to get together and appear together at the elections. Several dozen small parties can [word indistinct] a big coalition.

The founding assembly of the Reformist Forces Alliance for Serbia held yesterday has confirmed that the reformists' concept enjoys sufficient support in the political reality. The information blockade has been gradually breached by replies to those accusations which are used to proclaim Ante Markovic and his alliance as anti-Serbian: (?He) did not run at the elections in Slovenia and Croatia primarily because the federal law on parties had not been adopted, and the blockade of the law, which lasted several months, was set by Serbia itself, along with Slovenia. After all, Markovic is announcing that he will run at the elections in all republics next year.

The worse drawback of the bloc is still the fact that its candidate for president of the republic, Vojin Dimitrijevic—with all respect to his intellectual, moral, and political qualities—lacks sufficient charisma to compete with that of Milosevic or Draskovic, something which can have a decisive influence on voters' decision.

Finally, one should say that fear has also become a significant political element in this country. Fear of the outbreak of civil war is becoming more and more evident both in Yugoslavia and in Serbia. A section of the people who are inclined to peaceful solutions will be much more ready to opt for the reformist program and policy, since the belief prevails that they offer the best guarantee of peace.

Serbian Reform Alliance Assembles in Belgrade

Assembly, Campaign Previewed

LD0211155290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1440 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—The Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia (ARFY) [SRSY] for the Republic of Serbia is to have its founding assembly in Belgrade on Saturday [3 November], thereby announcing the opening of its election campaign and participation in the multi-party elections in Serbia set for December 9, it was set out at a news conference on Friday [2 November].

The ARFY for Serbia, which is to be registered on Friday, will participate in the elections because it believes boycotting them was absurd. Dr Petar Zivadinovc, in charge of the elections campaign for Serbia, however, pointed out that no control of the elections in Serbia was ensured and that party representatives must be on the elections commissions. He said if there were irregularities in the election campaign and the voting, the possibility existed to react and point them out.

The ARFY for Serbia, as noted on Friday, will not adopt a special program (apart from a programmatic statement). Its program was the reformist project of the Federal Government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic, who initiated the founding of the ARFY in the first place.

The founding assembly on Saturday will elect the leadership (Main Committee) and choose candidates for the post of republican president and republican premier, about which consultations were currently underway.

Alliance Elects New Chairman

LD0311215190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—At the founding assembly of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije] in Serbia, which is being held in the Yugoslav Drama Theater, a main committee of 167 members was elected. The chairman of the committee, which contains many prominent personalities in public and cultural life, is Professor Vojin Dimitrijevic.

The founding assembly, which is considering the draft program declaration of the alliance, and the program and electoral statement of the alliance in Serbia, is attended by engineer Ante Markovic, chairman of the main initiative committee and president of the Federal Executive Council.

Markovic Addresses Alliance

LD0311222290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1745 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Professor of international law at Belgrade's law faculty, Vojin Dmitrijevic, has been proposed as the candidate of Serbia's Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia for the post of president of the Republic of Serbia. Ljubomir Madzar, a lecturer at the economics faculty, was proposed as the candidate for the post of head of republican government.

These proposals were adopted at today's founding assembly of the Serbian Alliance in the Yugoslav Drama Theater. The final decision on the candidates has, however, been left to the provisional 167-strong main committee, elected today, which is expected to carry out consultations about the candidates with whom it will challenge the electoral competition for these key top-level posts.

Vojin Dmitrijevic was elected chairman of this committee, which comprises a host of prominent personalities in Serbia's public and cultural life.

Hailed with a tumultuous welcome by over 500 delegates and guests, the Alliance's main commitee chairman, Ante Markovic, said that this assembly also marks the begining of the alliance's Serbian election campaign. "We have not taken sides in the false dilemma of federation versus confederation, because we are in the process of transforming the country from one system into another. The old system's constitutional and legal framework is not geared to this phase. It is only the proposed amendments that open up the way to further changes. Those who propose that form without content be discussed can only stir up a dispute. It seems that this is exactly what they need. Multiparty elections to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber should first be held in all the republics, and only then will the right political framework, in addition to the constitutional and legal one, for carrying on with the reform, come into being," Markovic stressed.

The ownership transformation is at the core of the continuation of reforms, since all analysis suggests that there can be no integral market without this transformation. In Markovic's words, the attempts, such as those in

Serbia, at retaining social ownership, or at turning social property into state property in those places where the new forces have won, is nothing but an attempt to preserve one's power. He heralded new measures to consolidate the capital market "which will reveal the enormity of the financial catastrophies the ruling forces have wrought upon their environments, including this one, too." Erecting barriers, duties, taxes, and preventing the circulation of goods can yield political effects but only to the detriment of those who are doing this. It also damages the entire country, socially and politically, and most of all the environment, where such measures have been adopted.

Markovic then explained that the Alliance had not been established in Slovenia and Croatia, and had not been able to contest the elections there because the adoption of the federal Law on Political Organizations had been delayed and blocked from December until July, largely by Slovenia and Serbia. There is, however, no such thing as elections set in stone. One election is always followed by another, Markovic said. He added that on his way from Rijeka via Zagreb to Belgrade, the Alliance's coordination committee president for Croatia, Bozidar Savijevic, had enrolled as many as 3,000 new members in the Alliance. Whereupon Savijevic launched himself from his seat and handed a box filled with the new membership cards to Markovic amid a barrage of applause flashbulbs.

Drawing his address to a close, Markovic said that it was possible for true enthusiasts and good organizers, with such a program, to achieve success in the elections. We are not a party in need of enemies, although we have them. Do not let them scare you. You are a force in itself, and you are backed by the strong Alliance, a guarantee that the reforms will advance and Yugoslavia will have its future secured. If you approach citizens in the right way, and acquaint them with our program, I believe, we will win Serbia's elections, Markovic concluded. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Meets; Demands Rights

AU0411201890 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 28 Oct 90 pp 4-5

[Blerim Reka report: "Between the Verbal Promises of the SFRY Presidency and Serbia's Continual Repression"]

[Text] Pristina, 27 Oct—In spite of the stands taken by the SFRY Presidency at its most recent meeting in Ohrid, which call for the suspension of anticonstitutional measures in the republics and provinces and forbid new measures violating the SFRY Constitution and the federal laws, it seems that Serbia is exempt. Persisting in its privileged position in the Yugoslav federation, Serbia not only did nothing to even symbolically rescind its anticonstitutional laws of 26 June and 5 July—which created an anticonstitutional situation without precedent in our postwar history and involved the parliament of one federal unit suspending the parliament of another federal unit (!)—but with its illegal and uncivilized behavior in Kosovo further intensified its repressions and other violations of the still valid SFRY Constitution.

The highest organ of the Serbian state, the Assembly, last week approved a new "package" of laws on the economy which in practice declared Serbia's economic sovereignty and destroyed the single Yugoslav market, for which it could even be held criminally responsible (under Article 161 of the Yugoslav Penal Code), and moreover applied a new batch of enforced measures in many Kosovo collectives. Nevertheless, that is not all there is to Serbia's unconstitutional behavior. Alongside such measures, which seek to completely destroy Kosovo's economic base, the self-appointed Kosovo education minister, Dr. Stanoje Dogandzic, after threatening telex messages, issued the first serious warnings of a ban on classes in Albanian-language secondary schools which fail to follow the Serbian curricula. It is now said that Halim Hyseni, director of the Education Institute, has been dismissed for failing to enforce the order imposing Serbian curricula in all Kosovo schools. This will probably not be the end of the matter, and it is feared that classes in the Albanian language will be forbidden beginning of next week.

The most recent news conference of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [DSK] resembled some earlier news conferences of this Kosovo political party, in that DSK Chairman Dr. Ibrahim Rugova repeated his now familiar but still topical demands for the immediate resumption of the work of the Kosovo Assembly and Executive Council, Pristina Radio and Television, and RILINDJA. He also repeated the demand that the Federal Executive Council should do something to enable the Albanian delegates, who face criminal charges leveled by the Serbian state, to return to Kosovo, and to halt this prosecution, which concerns members of the Kosovo Government. We demand, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova then said, that all Albanian workers dismissed in so-called national-political differentiation, which is nothing short of discrimination and the destruction of the Kosovo economy, should be reinstated.

We have said before, and we say again, Rugova said, that the Serbian state should leave Albanian schools in peace, because there is no need to suspend classes and dismiss teachers because of the Serbian curricula, which deny the identity of the Albanians. The now notorious Serbian state is not letting up in its infamous acts against the Albanians.

The SFRY Presidency, the DSK chairman said, again issued a firm call recently for a respect for constitutionality and the federal laws which are in force; on the other hand, it did not condemn the violent and anticonstitutional adventures of current Serbian policy in Kosovo.

The announcement of a retrial of those accused in the Titova Mitrovica trial, in a repeat of this trial in Vojvodina, is a new attempt by Serbia to scare the Albanians with political trials. This proves Serbia's Bolshevik and neo-Stalinist leanings, which contradict the democratic processes in Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe. Rugova also strongly protested the murder of Nazmi Zogaj at Sutomore. He was an innocent victim, and was killed only because he was Albanian. This shows that what happened two or three years ago, when Albanians were maltreated in Serbia, is happening again. Now it is happening in Montenegro instead of Serbia. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova expressed his sincere condolences to the family of the murdered Nazmi Zogaj from Lladrovc near Malisevo.

Upon learning of the arrest of Dr. Alush Gashi, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova also protested, informing journalists that there are reports of him having been maltreated while being taken away.

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In the name of the DSK, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova concluded, I must say that we still favor dialogue, to which some federal bodies have recently committed themselves; but we do not think that this dialogue can be dialogue only in name, as these bodies suggest. All sides in Kosovo and Yugoslavia must take part in genuine dialogue.

As expected, the first question put to Dr. Ibrahim Rugova was how he viewed the request for political asylum in France lodged by Ismail Kadare, a great writer, not merely in Albanian terms. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that he had obtained the full text of Ismail Kadare's statement the previous day. He detected in this request for political asylum in France the voice of a writer's conscience and an intellectual act done in order to hasten democratic processes in Albania, and said that it showed Kadare's concern for the Albanians in Kosovo and the whole Albanian people. I call on the present Albanian Government, Rugova said, not to conceive it as a hostile act, but as a serious warning for the good of the entire Albanian people. Kadare's declaration shows that he has decided to take this step out of good intentions, so that the Albanian people as a whole may live in democracy and in the European family in tomorrow's integrated Europe. Kadare is a great writer and his voice will be influential both in Albania and abroad.

Another question put to Dr. Ibrahim Rugova was: "Do you think President Bush will sign the amendment suspending all aid to Yugoslavia, and specifically to those republics where free elections have not been held?" He replied that this amendment has gone through all the procedures of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and that he had no further information, but that it depended on U.S. policy as a whole. I know that the United States is wary of global sanctions against the whole of Yugoslavia and that it is interested in conditional sanctions, not only where Yugoslavia is concerned, but in the cases of other countries also.

At yesterday's news conference, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova was also asked about the rumored criminal charges against him. He repeated that he had not been officially informed of them and that it was a matter of a police ploy carried out through the newspapers. Today, he said, anything is possible for this police state in Kosovo.

Another question was: "The Serbian education minister has threatened Kosovo schools with closure if they do not follow the Serbian curricula. What comments do you have on this?" Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said: "Let them close them, and let Serbia's ultimate aim of abolishing Albanian schools in Kosovo become clear!"

The last question posed to the DSK chairman was: "You have said that you will not take part in the elections to be held by Serbia. How will you commit yourself in the federal elections?"

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the party had still not adopted a stand on this, but our well-known standpoint is that elections should also be organized in Kosovo, and we are interested in this. We still do not know how the elections at federal level will be organized. Let us wait and see.

Yesterday, a gathering of the workers of the "Rilindja" Printing Works protested the farce of the supposed reappearance of the newspaper RILINDJA, news of which has been spreading among the public at large for some time. In a statement addressed to democratic public opinion in Yugoslavia and the world, they state among other things: RILINDJA was banned by an arbitrary, illegal, and anticonstitutional decision of the Serbian Assembly on 7 August 1990. Even though the decree states that this ban is "temporary," and a "solution to the issue" was predicted at the following meeting of the Serbian Assembly, many assembly meetings have taken place, and this announcement has merely been a deception of the public. The announcement a few days ago that the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly would make "additional efforts" for the reappearance of RILINDJA was likewise a public deception, because nothing tangible came of it. The truth is that the "solutions and recipes" for the reappearance of RILINDJA offered to us so far have demanded that we journalists and other RILINDJA workers accept illegality, anticonstitutionality, violence, enforced measures, lack of freedom, and the enslavement of free thought and free public expression. They have demanded that we accept the harshest censorship and deceive our readership instead of reporting to them objectively. They call on us, therefore, the repudiate RILINDJA's traditional identity for almost half a century as the newspaper of Kosovo, and make the newspaper the organ of the Serbian Assembly, thus putting it in the service of the current destructive Serbian occupation policies, which have in recent years brought great traumas and tragedies to Kosovo and the Albanians. We, the RILINDJA workers' public protest continues, can never accept the position of lackeys, or any form of vassalage and subjugation, just as we cannot agree to remain silent or fail to pursue our professional and human mission of freely writing and reporting on everything which has happened and is happening, as we are obliged by the Constitution, the law, and the journalists' code of practice. We therefore ask for the help and support of all influential organs, associations, and institutions in order to ensure the reappearance of our newspaper, the only Albanian-language daily in Yugoslavia. This is all the more important, because attempts are being made to conceal from the public the facts concerning 40,000 people dismissed from work, 100 people killed, and hundreds of other injured, imprisoned and subject to "police handling," belonging to almost every Kosovar family, while the Serbs and Montenegrins hold all power in their hands, despite the fact that 90 percent of the population is Albanian.

We ask for support for the issue of our newspaper, but also support for an end to state terror, the return of all those dismissed from their jobs by force, a return of constitutional status to Kosovo, and the lifting of the information blockade in Kosovo, which implies the resumption of the work of Pristina Radio and Television and RILINDJA, the RILINDJA workers' protest addressed to the Yugoslav and world public concludes.

In such a situation, in which even the head of state calls for an end to illegal and anticonstitutional behavior in its very own country, in a part of it occupied by another part (!), the militia are able to drag from his office Dr. Alush Gashi, director of the Anatomical Institute, and beat him and manhandle him in front of his own students. In its statement, the SFRY Presidency was probably not thinking of an "end to illegal and anticonstitutional behavior" of this kind, which we would say is also unprecedentedly inhuman and primitive in the eyes of the entire civilized world. As has been reported, Dr. Alush Gashi was arrested yesterday, and up to the moment of the dispatch of this report it is still not known whether he has meanwhile been released or not. There have also been similar disheartening cases in other parts of Kosovo, and it seems that they no longer surprise anybody. For instance, in Urosevac, Lulezim Ibishi was beaten to the point of unconsciousness on the pretext that he was not carrying his identity card, and he remains confined to his bed. The mass dismissals of Albanian workers from their jobs go without saying: In Lipljan, all the Albanian workers have been dismissed from the "Termovent" enterprise, all the Albanian judges have been dismissed from the Kamenica Communal Magistrate's Court, and 3,200 Albanian workers have been dismissed from the "Tefik Canga" Combine in Urosevac. In the course of the campaign for the dismissal and ethnic purging of communal administrative workers, it seems that another Kosovo communal administration, that of Stimlje, will be left without Albanians, following the examples of Vitina and Dragas. In Gnjilane, 319 persons have been dismissed from the Communal Assembly's administration. Thirty more Albanians have been dismissed from the Pristina "Sloga" catering enterprise, while Serbs and Montenegrins were immediately hired in their places!

Under the circumstances of the de facto suspension of Albanian-language classes at the Faculty of Medicine (although this has still not formally taken place), and after the suspension from their teaching posts which constitute about 70 of this faculty's staff, various gatherings of students and teachers have appealed to students to attend classes regularly and not to fall into the trap of provocations whose consequences will be the closure not only of this faculty, but, in a chain reaction, all the Albanian-language faculties of Pristina University. For instance, more than 300 students of the Pristina Faculty of Medicine, in their petition addressed to the highest authorities of Pristina University, call for the return of all teaching staff and health personnel who have been dismissed from work. They also call for an immediate resolution of the situation following the introduction of temporary measures in the gynecological, histological, anatomical, internal medicine, pharmacological, and epidemological departments, etc.; they call for the lifting of these measures and the departure of the militia from the faculty, and they ask for a delegation from this faculty to be allowed to take part in a meeting of the Teaching and Academic Council. Meanwhile, students of this faculty said at a student meeting that they only recognize their Albanian teachers and refuse to take examinations in Serbo-Croatian. This meeting also appealed for the protection of this faculty from the scenario prepared for its destruction, while the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Youth appealed to the students and school pupils of Kosovo to make use of their last opportunities to attend classes at the university and to avoid provocations whose ultimate aim is to place this hearth of Kosovo education under lock and key.

While on the subject of education, a group of Albanian parents in Vitomirica near Pec have filed criminal charges with the Pec district public prosecutor against Svetislav Racic, head teacher of the Milos Giljic Primary School at Vitomirica; Milutin Mijovic, Ratomir Vujosevic, and Feride Hadrovic, teachers; and Xhafer Gjyka, secretary to the Pec Communal Assembly's Secretariat of Social Services, for committing the penal act of racial and other forms of discrimination and spreading national, religious, and racial hatred, division, and intolerance by expelling Albanian pupils from the school.

The further fate of two ministers of the Kosovo Executive Council, Selajdin Skeja and Leke Vuksani, and the RILINDJA journalist Zenun Celaj, who are still in detention, remains unknown, although the number of citizens, associations, and organizations throughout Kosovo asking for their release rises every day. For instance, thousands of signatures have been collected demanding the immediate release of Zenun Celaj alone.

At the same time as democratic public opinion is taking a stand against new political show trials of Albanian politicians in connection with the promulgation of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Serbia, persisting in its trickery, wishes to revive a long-concluded political trial, that of Titova Mitrovica, and is considering the possibility (appealing to the law on the activities of republican bodies under a state of emergency) of delegating authority to the Vojvodina Supreme Court to decide on the appeal of Public Prosecutor Spasoje Zanfirovic against the verdict of the Titova Mitrovica District Court, which declared the defendants to be innocent. In connection with this warning, the 15 who were accused last autumn of "a counterrevolutionary threat to the country's social order" have announced a news conference for tomorrow.

Serbian Restrictions on Opinion Polls Criticized

AU3110153290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 90 p 6

[Ljiljana Bacevic article: "Media Bias and Public Opinion"]

[Excerpts] Paragraph 2, Article 10 of the Law on Election of People's Deputies (published in the official Gazetteer of the Republic of Serbia on 28 September 1990) states: "From the day elections are called until the closing of the polling stations, the publication of the previous results or the forecasts of the election results is forbidden." Article 70 of the same law prescribes fines for organizations and (irresponsible) persons which violate this provision. The ban on the publication of the forecasts of election results is valid from the day the elections were called, in this case from 28 September 1990.

As far as I know a similar ban (especially with regard to the length of time) does not exist in the election laws of other modern countries, nor in the election laws of other Yugoslav republics. Although I do not think that other country's solutions are better just because they are foreign, I think that this fact should not be ignored. [passage omitted]

In the countries in which restrictions on the publication of preelection forecasts exist, restrictions are in force for a reasonable period of time (not longer than eight days before the elections). In our case especially this period should not be longer. In countries with a long tradition of multiparty elections, information on voting patterns is available to the public at all times. In Serbia, however, citizens are not prepared for elections (a great majority will vote in the multiparty elections for the first time), parties' programs are only being presented to the public now, the electorate is only now starting to make its choice and identify itself with different parties, and so forth. Citizens lack much of the information that is necessary for voting according to their free will. Therefore depriving them of some of the information—information about citizens' affiliation to parties before elections—especially throughout the election procedure, is neither sensible nor democratic.

Serbian Police Leasing Army Vehicles in Kosovo

LD0211135590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—At the request of Serbia's Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs and on the basis of the law on funds for and financing of the Yugoslav People's Army, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense has decided to hand over a certain number of off-road vehicles and trucks to meet the needs of Serbia's Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Kosovo.

The two parties have signed a contract which obligates the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia to provide comprehensive insurance for all the vehicles and pay the full cost of their maintenance and repairs. This is said in a statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense submitted today to the SFRY Assembly in reply to delegate Ali Zefuni's question about the way in which the republican police in Kosovo uses military vehicles with registration plates of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Serbia.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense stresses, while stating that the contract regulating the lease of the vehicles expires by the end of the year, that the Yugoslav People's Army loaned its vehicles on earlier occasions such as when the consequences of natural disasters had to be tackled, the Mediterranean Games and the Athletic Championship in Split, the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, and on other occasions.

Albanian Delegates Submit Resolution on Kosovo

LD0211154790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1201 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—Delegates to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly are shortly to acquaint themselves with a proposition submitted by a group of Albanian nationality delegates who are in charge of the resolution "on restoring constitutionality in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo."

In explaining this request, submitted to the president of this Assembly chamber, Bogdana Glumac Levakov, 14 delegates cite that the adoption of the law on suspending the Assembly and Executive Council of the SAP of Kosovo and the introduction of the so-called special measures of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in this province, created an unconstitutional state of affairs and terminated its autonomy in practice. This, the signatories of the resolution say, prevents the working people and citizens and the nations and nationalities in this part of the SFRY from exercising their sovereign rights. In their view, such unconstitutional measures are directed against the federation itself and lead to the blockade of some of its organs, primarily of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces and the state Presidency.

The ban on publishing the RILINDJA newspaper and "The forcible occupation of radio and television in Albanian language," it is said in the explanation, deny Albanians the right to be informed in their mother language. In the proposers' view, "the eviction of Albanian judges from the provincial organs on the part of the republican organ has totally deformed Kosovo's judiciary."

For all of these reasons the group of delegates proposes "the unconditional restoration of the province's legal organs and institutions and the redressing of all the mistakes committed in the policy of national equality."

The proposal of the group of delegates suggests, among other things, that "all the unconstitutional laws and other regulations adopted by the Serbian Assembly are declared null and void" and that the conditions should be created for the province's Executive Council to start exercising its constitutionally endorsed functions.

The abolition of all administrative measures taken in enterprises and financial organizations and "the return of all workers who were dismissed unlawfully" are also demanded. The draft resolution also includes the demand that federal legislation is consistently enforced in the province and that all parties which comply with legislation should be legalized.

Democratic Alliance of Kosovo on Elections

LD0211191990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the strongest and the only registered opposition party which rallies ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo, which is part of the Republic of Serbia, told newsmen in the provincial capital of Pristina today that their party would not participate in the illegal elections for the "parliament" of the so-called Republic of Kosovo.

The "Constitution" of the "Republic of Kosovo" was illegally adopted a few months ago by ethnic-Albanian deputies of the dissolved Kosovo Assembly, who announced that the illegal parliamentary elections would be held in November. The illegal elections should actually already be under way, but there have been no confirmations of that.

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, as its representatives set out, does not want to go underground, and whatever it does it does publicly.

The representatives of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo said that the final decision on whether their party would participate in the multi-party elections in Serbia on December 9 would be taken at the party electoral conference in Pristina on November 10.

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo has registered with the Federal Ministry of Justice and not with a competent body of the Republic of Serbia, but that does not prevent its participation in the elections for the Republic of Serbia parliament.

The representative of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo said that their party had not considered entering a coalition with some other party, but they did not rule out such a possibility.

Albanian Christian Democrat Opening Assembly Held

LD0411230990 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] The Albanian Christian Democratic Party [Albanska Demokrscanska Stranka] held its founding assembly in Djakovica today. The assembly was attended by numerous delegations from Yugoslavia and abroad, such as delegations from the Croatian Christian Democratic Party, the Geneva-based UN Peace Council, and other guests, including a number of academicians from Kosovo.

In his introductory speech (?Dr. Dzed Rasi) said that the foundation of this party is a great event for the Albanian people, who are now going through a difficult period.

The assembly adopted a declaration and constitution and elected a new presidium consisting of nine members.

Croatia's Tudjman on Serbia, Federation's Future

AU0511143790 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Friedrich Orter in Zagreb; date not given—recorded; Tudjman statements in Croatian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Orter] Mr. Tudjman, Croatia has had a freely elected government for six months now. Democracy has been introduced. You are facing problems caused by the Serbian minority in the Knin area. In your view, are there still chances for a peaceful settlement?

[Tudjman] There is evidence that those who used arms in Knin were largely passed in from other parts of the country, from Bosnia, Montenegro, and from Serbia. This is part of a scenario aimed at provoking bloodshed. In this way, the intervention of the Army against the new democratic governments in Croatia and Slovenia should be made to appear unavoidable.

However, we will not be tricked by this scenario of a civil war and the use of the Army. We believe that, within the general development in Yugoslavia, it will be possible to win over the federal organs and the Army for democracy, and to restore order in Knin.

[Orter] Let us discuss the Serbian-Croatian conflict in more detail. You claim that 12 percent of the population in Croatia were Serbs in the past decades, but that the Serbs have held 60 percent of the leading position. Has this changed recently, among the police, for example?

[Tudjman] We are changing things, but many things are still to be changed. However, we do not want to achieve this immediately, because we have to face facts. There are also more delicate areas, such as the financial sphere and diplomacy.

[Orter] The young democracy in Croatia does not seem to be very stable at this point. As president of the republic, do you feel that you do not receive enough support from Western countries, particularly from your neighbor countries, including Austria and Italy?

[Tudjman] Yes, I think that our neighbor countries should provide decisive support in the political sense, particularly in the solution of economic problems. Europe—particularly our neighbor countries—must be aware that there can be no peace in this part of the world with an unstable Yugoslavia, or with a Yugoslavia that is in one way or another centrally organized.

[Orter] During the election campaign and also at this point you have been threatened with attacks. Are you taking these threats seriously?

[Tudjman] Unfortunately, I have to. There were hints from neighbor countries, not only your country, that several groups are being infiltrated. It is very interesting that they are linked with international terrorism. There are hints suggesting this. We do not rule out the possibility of an attack. However, we are not afraid because we are doing our duty, our historic and human duty. We enjoy the confidence of the people. We know that we have realized political freedom and that we are facing enormous problems in the economic sphere. From an economic viewpoint, it is very complicated to convert this communist system into a free market and in a country of the free world.

[Orter] In view of all this crisis scenario and the fears concerning Yugoslavia, how long do you think Yugoslavia will continue to exist in the present form?

[Tudjman] Yugoslavia is now in some kind of transitional phase. Tito's Yugoslavia does not really exist any more. Whereas we in Croatia and Slovenia want Tito's concept of a federalism, which also included some elements of confederalism, to be developed further, Belgrade wants to return to centralism. I do not know whether people are realizing this. There are even tendencies in Belgrade to push Slovenia out of Yugoslavia so that Belgrade can vituperate against Croatia more easily. Yugoslavia is currently in a phase that cannot last long. Within the next few months, a solution must be found as to whether Yugoslavia can continue to exist as a single state. However, it is clear that the actual dissolution will take some more time. Such a solution is conceivable by spring.

Serbs Propose Autonomous Province in Croatia

LD0511150190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1345 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Knin, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbs in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia believe the new Croatian constitution should envisage also the existence of "autonomous provinces, as forms of territorial and cultural autonomy" which would be formed "in keeping with the individual national cultural and other features of their areas." This was on Monday [5 November] proposed by the Serbian National Council in Croatia, a specific non-institutional parliament of Serbs in Croatia.

The document published on Monday proposes that the future Croatian constitution, as it determines the republic's sovereignty, state also that Croatia was the state of the Croatian and Serbian peoples, as well as the other national minorities, or define it as a "democratic, legal and social state of all citizens living in it."

Ever since the Croatian Democratic Union of Franjo Tudjman won power in the multi-party elections in the republic last spring, the Serbs have been demanding their autonomy if Yugoslavia becomes a confederation fearing that the authorities in Croatia would stifle their national and cultural identity.

The Orthodox Serbs in Croatia, predominantly populated by Catholic Croats, number around 600,000.

On the other hand, the Croatian Republican Presidency has recently formed a working group made up of Serbian and Croatian intellectuals which is to work out their project of cultural autonomy of Serbs in Croatia. According to the Belgrade daily BORBA on Monday, many questions surrounding the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia continue open. Historian Marko Vulic, who is member of this 15-man group, has said Croatia was the first state, after the "Communist [word indistinct] the nationality question", which was attempting to solve the question of the minority nation. He proposed that in the case of the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia, the solutions for the "minority question" as envisaged by the draft European convention recently made public in Paris, be taken into consideration.

Croatian League of Communists Congress Convenes

LD0411054990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1157 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Our Communist Party and League of Communists have fulfilled their historic role in the national liberation struggle, in resisting Stalin, and in creating the preconditions for the current democratic changes, Ivica Racan said at the Croatian League of Communists-Party of Democratic Changes congress [SKH-SDP] in Zagreb, as he brought his introductory address to a close.

This marks the end of the era of a revolutionary party, and the beginning of the era of a new democratic, social democratic, and socialist-oriented parliamentarian party, the president of the SDH-SDP Central Committee said, and concluded that this has created all the preconditions for a new party.

Following a debate behind closed doors at the last session of the Central Committee, it was proposed yesterday evening that from now on the party be called "Party of Democratic Changes." [passage omitted]

In his address, Racan called on the delegates to help make the first party congress in opposition also the final and visible act of transformation of the SKH into the SDP. Noone at this congress is motivated by power and privileges, but only by political beliefs, a fact Racan branded as the greatest political and moral difference between the two congresses.

Speaking about the decision of the last congress to introduce democratic elections, Racan refuted the accusations that the SKH had torn the League of Communists apart. The League of Communists disintegrated from within because it was unable to meet the European and world challenges of the time, he said.

The League of Communists did not win the election. Nevertheless, it did not attain a bad election result, Racan assessed. He admitted that in the wake of the election membership was dissipating, partly in fear of retaliations and the introduction of a new kind of moral and political suitability. Racan does not, however, maintain that this is decisive, because the SDP will probably never again be a political party with a massive membership. Its activities will be directed toward voters, he said. [passage omitted]

Following a discussion, a new statute was adopted and the name of the party was changed to the Party of Democratic Changes [Stranka Demokratskih Promjena—SDP]. It is defined as an independent political organization which will achieve its goals by parliamentary means. The party's new flag will have three five-pointed stars, yellow, red, green, on a blue background.

Delegates elected the Presidium of the party. Ivica Racan was elected chairman. They also elected the council of the party, which is chaired by Predrag Vranicki, as well as other bodies.

Bases for its political program and a number of declarations on current political issues clearly define the social and democratic orientation of the party on the model of similar parties of the Socialist International.

By its historical declaration, the SDP distances itself from its negative legacy of the past which was modelled according to a single party monopoly and the unvanquished remains of Bolshevik ideology.

The party considers its positive legacy from the communist movement to be opposition to the two strongest totalitarian ideologies of this century, Fascism and Stalinism, and its recent decision to introduce multiparty elections.

The SDP convention also adopted a declaration on interethnic relations which says that the present state crisis in Yugoslavia can only be resolved by a new historical agreement of republics.

The SDP political declaration, which is titled What We Condemn the Government For, presents its stances in the capacity of the most powerful opposition party on a number of economic, social, and political issues regarding current political situation in Croatia. The SDP, in its special declaration on cooperation of left-wing parties, opts for dynamic and comprehensive cooperation with all parties and powers of the left in modern political life, and opts against ideological exclusivism.

Becomes Party of Democratic Changes

LD0311224390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—The Croatian League of Communists has changed its name, and from today is called the Party of Democratic Changes [Stranka Demokratskih Promjena—SDP]. This was decided at a congress of this party in Zagreb, which after a debate adopted a new statute.

This decision marked at the same time the end of the League of Communists Congress and the beginning of the SDP, which will go on to elect a leadership and adopt decisions on several program documents.

Slovene Poll on Demilitarization, Possible Coup

AU0111210590

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 20 October on pages 1 and 3 carries a 2,000-word report by Jana Taskar entitled "Slovenes on the Army" on the results of an opinion poll conducted by DELO-Stik on the demilitarization of Slovenia, Slovenia's own army, and the possibility of a coup d'etat.

According to the report, the poll was conducted on the telephone on 17 and 18 October among 1,000 randomly selected telephone subscribers. Of that number, 667 took part in the poll, 137 refused to participate, and the rest could not be reached. The majority of the respondents had secondary schooling [325], most of them were between 30 and 50 years of age [322], and there were somewhat more men than women [353:314].

The following results are presented in three bar and one pie charts:

Table 1: "The Greens demand demilitarization of Slovenia. Is that good for Slovenia's sovereignty?"

[a bar chart with figures in percentages]

Yes	48.7
No	33.7
Do not know	17.5

Table 2: "Demands that a Slovene army be formed are heard more and more frequently. What do you think about that?"

[a pie chart with figures in percentages]

Fully justifiable	44.2
Partly justifiable	32.2
Unjustifiable	16.3
Do not know	7.2

Table 3: "The possibility of a coup d'etat is talked about in Yugoslavia all the time. Do you think that is possible?"

[a bar chart with figures in percentages]

Yes	42.4
No	41.1
Do not know	16.5

Table 4: "If Slovenia's sovereignty is threatened, would you be prepared to take arms to defend it?"

[a bar chart with figures in percentages]

Yes, certainly	43.2
Yes, but only in case of need	36
No, by no means	12.9
Do not know	7.9

Anti-Albanian Protest Draws 10,000 in Gostivar

LD0411195490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Gostivar, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—About 10,000 Macedonians from all over the republic gathered today in Gostivar at a protest meeting against the Kosovitization of western Macedonia. Under the slogan "Macedonia for the Macedonians," the protest meeting was held in the Marshal Tito town square.

The protest meeting began with lengthy bell-ringing in the town's churches, and after this Vlado Jovanovski signified this moment for the Macedonian nation as to be or not to be, pointing out that the centuries-long dream of a Greater Albania is threatening western Macedonia as well. We are witnesses of the unprecedented aggressiveness of the Albanian separatists, who in western Macedonia are acting as if they have already won power, Jovanovski stressed, pointing out attempts to destroy the constitutional system and sovereignty of the socialist republic of Macedonia, and with this the whole country. [passage omitted]

Markovic Visits Macedonia, Presents Election Plan

LD0411194290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1747 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister and President of the Alliance of Reformist Forces (ARF) [SRSJ] Ante Markovic today called voters in the Republic of Macedonia to cast their ballots for his party, pledging ARF's ability, in five years' time, to usher Yugoslavia into the "society" of industrialized democratic countries of Europe.

In the Macedonian cities of Skopje, Stip and Kumanovo, Ante Markovic today presented the election program of the "reformists" who are to take part in the multi-party elections in Macedonia called for next Sunday [11 November].

Markovic said it was thanks to the reformists' program that Yugoslavia, of all socialist countries, could pay the lowest possible price for a shift to a new system. He added that the reformists could in five years implement the necessary changes in the economy and society.

Markovic stressed that Europe did not want Yugoslavia disrupted and torn by disputes but wanted it as a unified country with parliamentary democracy and market-oriented economy, the goals also striven for by the reformists.

He censured the enactments by which individual republics were shutting themselves in and preventing the circulation of goods and services in Yugoslavia's entire territory.

At election meetings in the underdeveloped Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, Markovic promised that the reformists would endeavour for an even development keel in all parts of Yugoslavia.

The reformists, as Markovic said, would work towards the full achievement of the rights of Macedonians in Bulgaria, Greece and Albania (countries that do not recognize the existence of Macedonians and Macedonian minorities).

Macedonian Action Movement Congress Opens

LD0411193390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 4 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The first congress of the Movement for All-Macedonian Action [Pokret za Svemakedonsku Akciku—MAAK] opened in the Great Hall of the Macedonian National Theater in Skopje today in the presence of over 800 delegates. An introductory report was presented by the MAAK chairman, Dr. Gane Todorovski.

The congress is expected to set up an all-Macedonian national coalition front. The main framework for the front is a single national program designed to pool the republic's forces and financial capital in order to help Macedonia overcome the current crisis as painlessly as possible.

Albanian Democratic Alliance Formed in Mostar

LD0211155590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Mostar, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Albanians of Bosnia-Hercegovina [Demokratski Savez Albanaca Bosne i Hercegovine] was formed today in Mostar, with its seat in the center of Hercegovina.

As announced, the Democratic Alliance of Albanians of Bosnia-Hercegovina, even though it will act as a branch of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, will at the same time conduct an independent policy as a political party of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to Anton Marijan Nusi, chairman of the Initiative Committee of the Democratic Alliance of Albanians of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the aim of the newly formed party is to articulate the political will and interests of some 70,000 Albanians living in the Republic, and their active and equal participation in its political life, in addition to the preservation of the national identity of Albanians, their culture, and language. The Democratic Alliance of Albanians of Bosnia-Hercegovina will also assist the political cause and activities of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo.

Montenegrin Reform Alliance Elects Officials

LD0211222690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije—SRSJ] for Montenegro, this evening elected a republican committee of the alliance, and presented elements of the economic program for this republic. Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic, chairman of the Socialist Party, was elected chairman of the republican committee. He said that the SRSJ "is the largest organization in Montenegro and that it will win the forthcoming multiparty elections in the republic."

Taking part in the work of the founding assembly, Dr. Veselin Vukotic, a member of the federal initiative committee of the SRSJ and a member of the Federal Executive Council, stressed that Montenegro and Yugoslavia need economic, not political leaders. [passage omitted]

Montenegro's Bulatovic Addresses Pljevlja Rally

LD0311233690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1933 GMT 3 Nov 90

[Summary] Pljevjla, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Momir Bulatovic, president of the Montenegrin League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, addressing a rally of more than 10,000 people in Pljevlja, has said that Yugoslavia is worth fighting for and that only a federal Yugoslavia can prevent the country's disintegration.